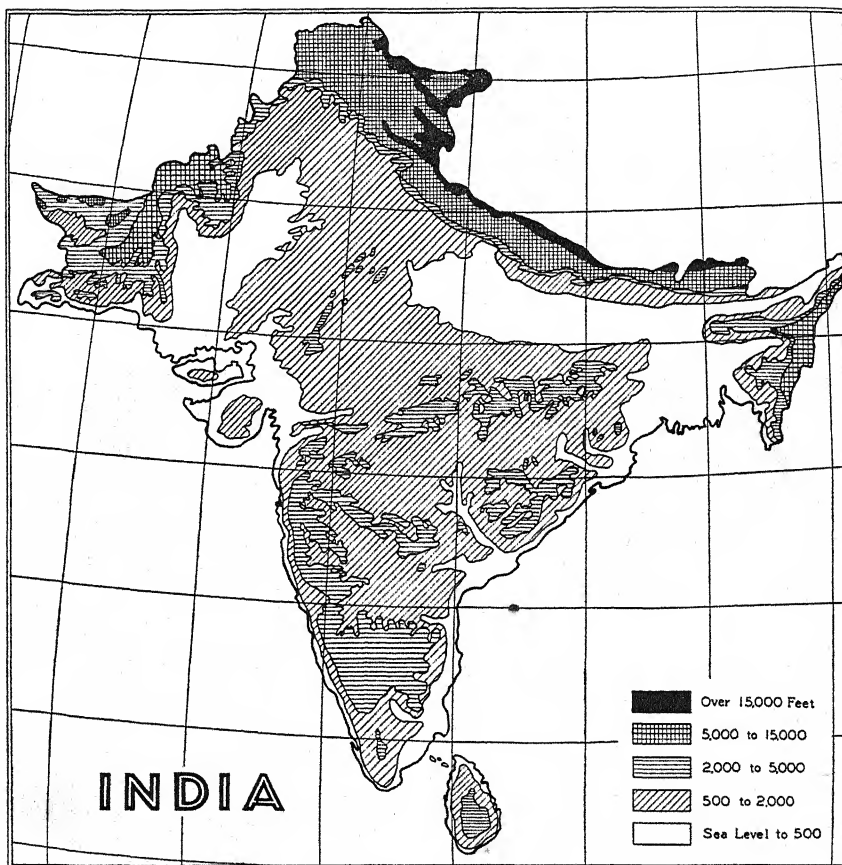


SCIENCE AND CULTURE SERIES  
JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D., GENERAL EDITOR



*INDIA*  
*From the Dawn*



TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF INDIA



# REFERENCE *INDIA*

*From the Dawn*

NEW ASPECTS OF  
AN OLD STORY

BY

MARIADAS RUTHNASWAMY  
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## *Preface by the General Editor*

The importance of this book at the present epoch is obvious and calls for little comment. India has become a center of international anxiety. Rightly to orient the reader a new kind of history is needed such as the author describes in his short, introductory note. Above all it must be written by a man of authority in this subject, with genuine sympathy and sound critical judgment. These are the qualities eminently possessed by the author whose earlier collegiate studies were made in his native India, followed by his master's and law studies in England, whence he returned from Gray's Inn, equally prepared for a legal or academic career.

The four volumes hitherto published by him have been devoted mainly to a discussion of administrative and governmental theory and practice in India, not failing at the same time to take account of the historical aspects. He has further held responsible public positions, such as presidency of the Madras Legislative Council and membership in the Central Legislative Assembly.

From an educational point of view he has occupied, over a number of years, a professorial chair in history. Successively, also, he has held at two colleges the position of principal, and is today in a directive educational connection with the independent Indian university of Annamalai.

His latest effort, *INDIA FROM THE DAWN*, is fittingly divided into three parts, corresponding to the three stages of India's history. Reckoned in terms of time, the first of these carries us back some 3000 years before Christ, to the earliest beginning of known habitation in the land. The

second opens approximately with the year 1000 of our era and is pithily described as "the Moslem interlude." It lasted some 800 years. And finally the third part stretches on from the comparatively short Portuguese adventure to the more enduring English rule, established at first by the commercial and military expansion of the East India Company and eventually taken over by the crown.

We have thus a history of nearly 5000 years, the earlier millenniums of which can quickly be recounted, since our knowledge of them is necessarily sparse, though the ancient race of the Dravidians is still existent in the land.

Discarding conventional methods the author now seeks to convey to his readers a clear and sound knowledge of all that can help to a truer understanding of what to most of us is largely still a mysterious land: the ancient Mother India. Brief, panoramic flashes quickly picture the trekking of nomad adventurers, the waging of primitive battles, the splendor of semibarbaric kings, the sudden upbuilding and perhaps equally rapid decline of empires won by conquest. For millenniums of years it was a large-scale application of the old immemorial law of the jungle:

The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That they shall take who have the power  
And they shall keep who can.

To this was added the lust for battle and the urge of a nomad's life.

Nor are the later commercial transactions or military exploits less succinctly told, with the same cinemalike presentation of successive events, giving us an intelligible understanding of the culture, religion, civilization, and progress of a people still today so largely unlettered despite all their ancient epics, despite such visions of beauty as India possesses in its traceries of stone like the Taj Mahal, and yet where something fundamental has always remained missing.

No slight prominence naturally is given in this book to the notion of caste, whose far-reaching effects are made strikingly plain, while Karma and Maya, the doctrines respectively of rebirth and of universal illusion, have helped heavily to retard popular culture and development. Doggedly men accepted what they believed to be their fate. The one thing that now is most needed for their freedom, liberty, and progress is the full light of that Christian Faith which the Church can bring them.

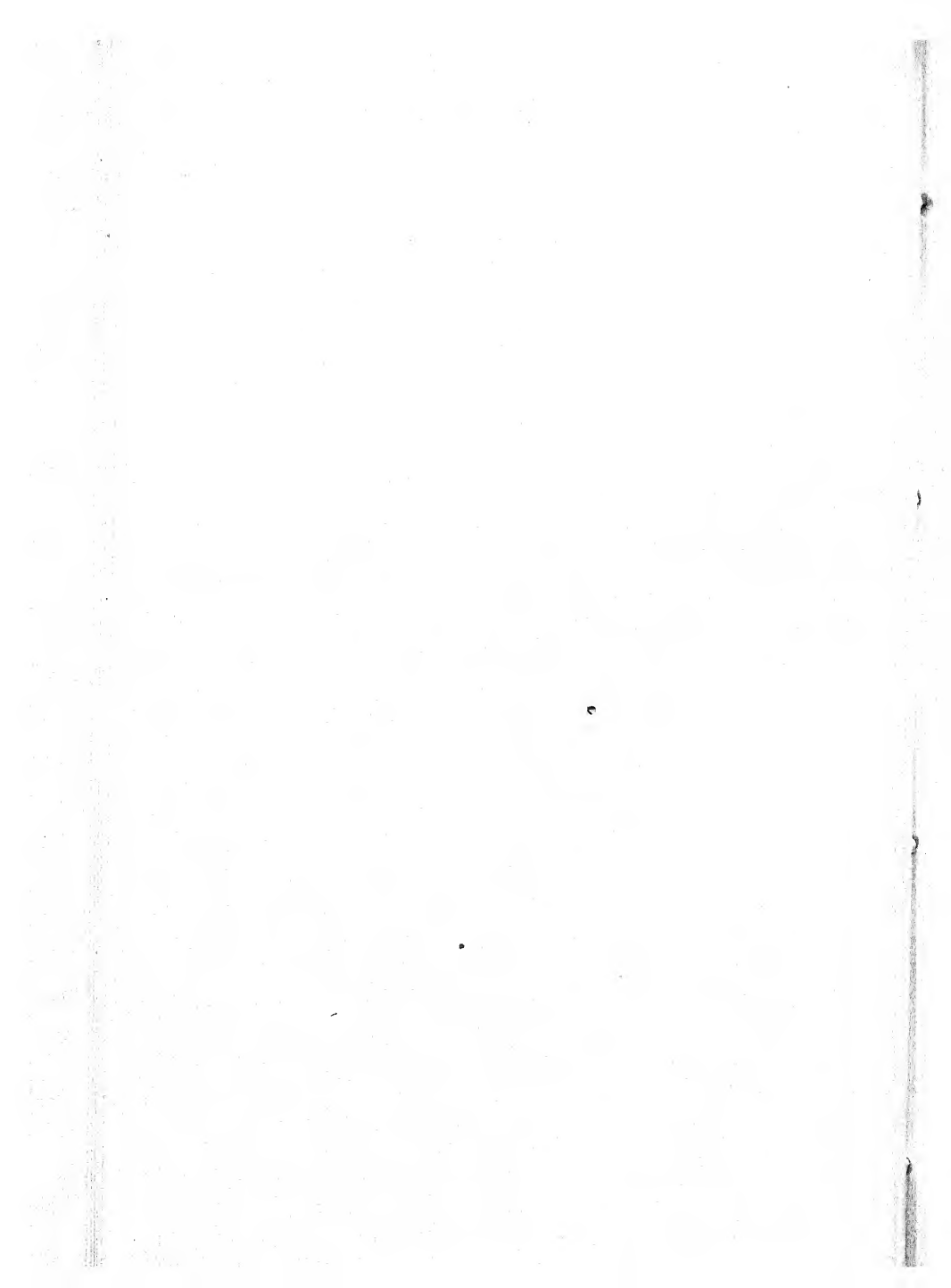
With the departure of the English power a new era opens, an era of self-determination, the results of whose development we have still to await, and which will be of the greatest consequence for the entire East. As India goes, so may go Ceylon, Burma, and possibly China.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D.

*General Editor, Science and Culture Series*

St. Louis University

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## *Author's Foreword*

We have called this book *INDIA FROM THE DAWN: NEW ASPECTS OF AN OLD STORY*. The significant subtitle calls for an explanation. Briefly be it said that, while all the facts and dates given here may be such as can be found in other works, the grouping of these facts and events is different, for this is not a chronological history.

The history of India, as will be explained in the body of the book, does not lend itself to chronological treatment till India steps into modern times. For such a treatment to be possible political development and change should set in. The state should have entered into its own. But the state does not become conspicuous in India till late in its history.

In the ancient or Hindu period, it is not the state that was notable but the influence of society, religion, and culture. In the second or Moslem period, India was shaken out of the even tenor of its ancient ways into a restlessness that is the note of the public and private life of that period. In the third or modern period, India is brought into contact with Europe, thrown into the stream of world history. It is brought under the rule of a people under whom the dominant influence in the life of modern India has become politics and the building of state and government.

By turning the attention of the reader to the prevailing influences of the several and successive periods of the history of India, instead of wearying him or her with the facts and dates of dynasty after dynasty, king after king, Amurath succeeding Amurath, the author hopes to arouse general interest outside India in the history of a people whose ex-

perience has been unlike that of any other. It is a people that has suffered as no other people from burdens imposed on her by her own children as well as by strangers, and whose efforts to shake off these burdens must evoke the admiration and sympathy of her more fortunate fellows among the nations of the world.

What future developments may bring under the newly existing circumstances it would be rash for me to predict, but we can at least gauge the possibilities. Much is at stake, while undying vigilance is the price of liberty.

M. RUTHNASWAMY

Annamalai University



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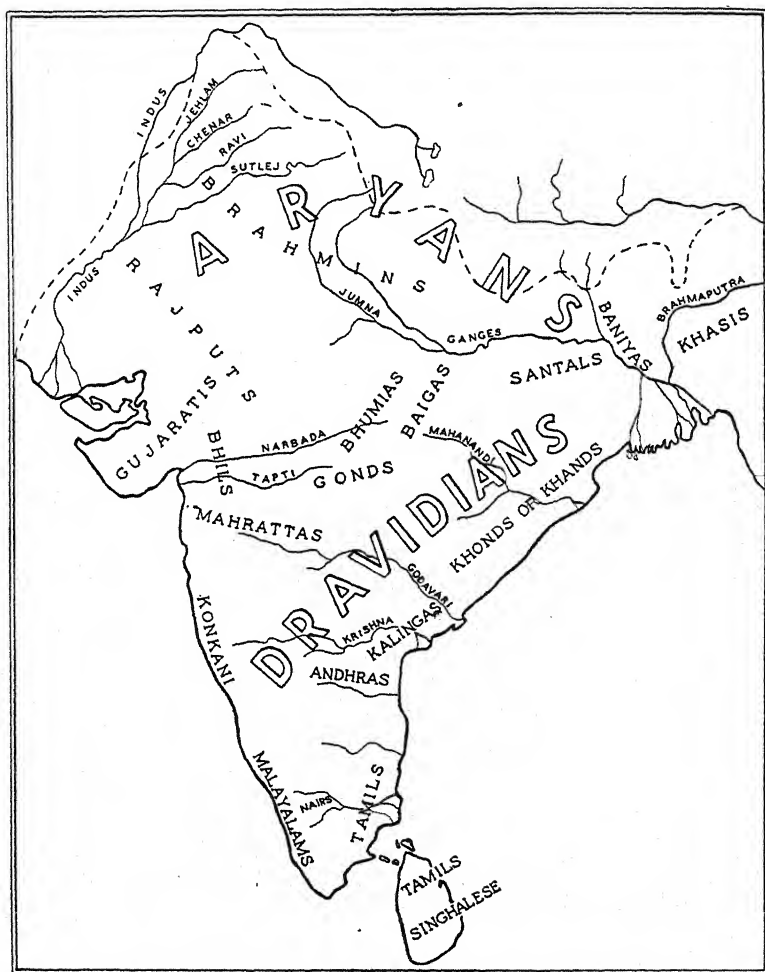
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**INDIA**  
*From the Dawn*



ETHNOLOGICAL MAP OF INDIA

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## PART ONE

### *The Hindu Beginnings*

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#### I. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

##### 1. THE ANCIENT DRAVIDIANS

HISTORY in India begins in the south. It has begun in the south everywhere else in the world, in Europe, in America, in Asia. The only apparent exception is Africa, but northern coastal Africa really belongs geographically and historically to southern Europe. On account of its more agreeable climate, its greater wealth of wood and water, its nearness to the sea, the south is the first rung in the ladder of civilization and culture in any country. It was so in India.

Geologically the south is the more ancient part of India. The peninsular part of India, known as the Dekhan, i.e., the south, is a solid and stable block of land, largely composed, according to the geologists, of the most ancient rocks of the earth which wind and water have carved out into the mountain ranges on the east and the west, constituting the eastern and the western Ghats; and into plateaus, valleys, and plains.

Ever since the Cambrian period, the dawn of geological history, the peninsular part of India, the Dekhan, has been dry land: "a continental segment of the earth's circumference

which since that epoch has never been submerged beneath the sea except locally and temporarily." In contrast to this, the extra-peninsular or northern India has been a region which had been underneath the sea for the greater part of its history. It was a comparatively later disturbance of the earth that submerged the sea under land, created the plains of northern India, and threw up the large mountain barriers of the Himalayas, thus giving India its distinct and distinguishing shape, outline, and features. The south, therefore, is the more ancient land of India.

It also contains the most ancient peoples of India. For a reason later to appear, they have not, like most of the peoples of India, left any documentary traces of their life and career. But from the evidence laid bare by the sciences of archaeology, ethnology, and language, we may know who and what manner of people these were. In the mountain ranges of the Vindhya, the northern boundary of the Dekhan; on the high places of the western Ghats like the Nilgiris; or on the elevation of the eastern Ghats like the Amarakantaka, can still be found groups of peoples who evidently had taken refuge from the inconvenient attentions of later but more powerful settlers in India. These are known compendiously in Indian history as the Dravidians.

From the race-memories of these peoples and from the similarity between them and the inhabitants of India which the first foreign invaders of the country encountered, we are justified in thinking that these forest tribes of India are the descendants of the ancient Dravidians. Thus, from the fact that to this day the Rajput chiefs of Marwar on the day of their coronation get their foreheads marked by a *tilak* (spot) with the blood taken from the toe of a native of the Bhil tribe; that a Mina does a similar thing to the Rama of Jaipur; that in the State of Keonghar in Orissa the crowning ceremony of the ruling chief has to be performed by Bheriyas; that at a festival of Siva at Tiruvarur in the

Tanjore District of the Madras Province, the headman of the Parayans (Pariah of modern times) is mounted on the elephant with the god and carries the *chouri* (ceremonial fan), we may conclude that the Bhils of Rajputana and central India, the Minas of central India, the Bheriyas of Orissa, and the Pariahs of southern India are the descendants of the ancient rulers of southern India. Their physical resemblance to the tribes that were encountered by the first foreign invaders of India also bear out this conclusion. They were dark-skinned, flat-nosed, short, as described in the literature of those that conquered them.

That the Dravidians had attained a certain level of civilization and culture is proved indeed by the progress attained in their civilization and culture within later times, as instanced in the language and literature of the Tamils and in the splendid specimens of Dravidian architecture. Such a bright summer must have been preceded by a genial spring. This fact is equally plain, however, from the accounts left us by those that overpowered them. One source of such accounts is to be found in the Vedic hymns, especially the *Rig Veda*. These are full of references to the existence of the ancient Dravidians and prove their advancement in the arts of life. The "hundred castles" of Sambara, the magnificent cities of the Gandharvas, the "wealth of Anas," the riches of Vritras — all these tales betoken a civilization which the invaders coveted but could not claim for themselves. The writings of these ancient times attribute even bravery and superior architectural skill to the Asuras and the Nagas.

Nor were these ancient Dravidian peoples merely civilized and cultured. They were not lacking in the more manly military qualities. No people, not even the ancient Hebrews, prayed so fervently and frequently for the coveted success in battle as did the conquerors and settlers who eventually succeeded against them. The prayers that they addressed

to Indra and Agni must have been wrung from hearts stricken with anxiety and minds depressed by the prospect of possible failure against a terrible foe. Across the ages, the Vedic hymns and the epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* which speaks of the terrible Savaras still palpitate with the fear and terror of a people who had ventured from their homes and had counted on an easy settlement in fertile territory. In their despair the Vedic peoples invented even charms, spells, and sacrifices, such as are found in the later books of the Vedas, and pressed them into service to defend themselves. It was a people akin to their own tribes that formed the famous Dravidian kingdoms of the south whose course in historical times we shall soon traverse.

## 2. CIVILIZATION IN 3000 B.C.

But before we attempt to deal with this subject we must go to another part of India where we find traces of a still more ancient civilization than that of the Dravidians of the Dekhan and central India. In the valleys of the Indus, to the northwest — a river that has given us the name of India — have been found within the past twenty-five years traces of a civilization that takes the history of India back as far as 3000 B.C.

The discoveries at Taxila, at Harappa in the Punjab, and at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, form a thrilling chapter in the romance of modern archaeology. Here lay buried for 3000 years, under successive deep layers of sand, the remains of a people who had distinguished themselves in the arts that make life pleasant and complex. They show that the ancient natives of these parts of India were allied to those most primitive inhabitants of central and northern India whom we have already learned to know as Dravidians. The statues dug up in Mohenjo-daro show brachycephalic features with low foreheads and narrow oblique eyes. The custom of



burying prevailed. The figure of the Naga, or the serpent, is another link with Dravida.

The buildings, too, story upon story, remind one of the temple *gopurams* of Dravidian India. Their inhabitants knew the art of smelting and working in iron, and the making of bronze and gold vessels. Pottery abounds in the ruins of this civilization. The people lived in cities of considerable size and standard. In fact theirs was a city civilization not unlike that of Sumer and Akkad in Mesopotamia. They had many of the amenities of city life — such as baths, market places, shops, palacelike buildings, straight rectangular streets with brick-built houses on either side of them. The drainage system at Mohenjo-daro has been described by the historian of the Indus civilization as “the most complete ancient system so far discovered.” Curry stones on which grain was ground and herbs pounded show that the culinary art must have reached some degree of refinement. Agriculture, with the cultivation of cotton, wheat, barley, melons, and dates, in the lands around, fed this city-bred population.

Their religion included tree and animal worship and the use of phallic symbols. The figure of the Naga, or serpent, is found frequently. The deity discovered on a seal amulet is identified with the popular south Indian god, Siva. The mother goddess of the Indus valley, independent and self-sustained, is symbolic of the matriarchal system prevalent among certain Dravidian tribes. Worship of the bull reminds one of the Nandi of the south.

All these reminiscences of the civilization and culture of the Indus valley have been adduced to formulate the theory that these ancient peoples were allied to the Dravidians of central and southern India. Attempts have even been made to identify the script found on Mohenjo-daro tablets with that of Tamil. But even if this theory is well founded, it will not bring these peoples of the Indus valley into the stream of

Indian history. So far as a lasting influence on India itself is concerned they might as well not have been there at all. They are only an episode in Indian history. They prove only one fact regarding it, that as early as 3000 B.C. there was a corner of India which had worked its way to high attainment in civilization. The people disappeared, probably overwhelmed suddenly by the Indus river, which has always been ready to manifest such fits of temper. They left behind them, however, material traces discovered only 5000 years after their fever and fret of life was over. It is not therefore from these ancient peoples of the northwest that the main stream of Indian history flows.

### 3. THE ARYAN STARTING POINT, THE PUNJAB

For that we must go farther north, to the upper reaches of the Indus river and its four tributaries, to the land of the five rivers, the Punjab. It is there that we begin to trace the infiltration into India of those peoples who by their conflict, contact, and intermingling with the already settled Dravidians laid the foundations of Indian history. The Punjab was a land inviting men from the west to spread over it all and to wander far beyond it. We wonder, therefore, could it at that time have been the severe-looking, sand-and-hillock-covered, shrub-laden earth that it now is for miles and miles, or was it strewn with jungle tracts cleared by hundreds of invasions that followed one another? In any event the rivers and the fertile lands on their banks were a temptation to the intruders, while the snowy mountain peaks on their left to the north may have speeded them on. The desert lands on their right flank may well have restricted them to the lands of the four tributaries or more of the Indus.

The Indus itself, in fact, would attract wandering peoples from the west to settle on its lands. It could readily be forded when its stormy waters, roaring down from the

snow-topped Himalayas under the heat of the summer sun, were wont to be abated in autumn and in winter. Beyond this came the tributary waters of the Jhelam, the Ravi, the Bias, and the Sutlej, waving a gladsome welcome. From their banks and across the level lands between them these foragers could step onward in quick succession. And beyond the last of the Punjab rivers there beckoned, across the holy Saraswati, the waters of the Jumna, and beyond that lay the broad basin of Mother Ganga — the Ganges of geography.

These great rivers of India drew with their life-giving waters and food-producing silt, as if by a golden chain, the peoples that came from the west. It was in the Punjab, and in the Madhyadesa or middle land of India, watered by the Jumna and the Ganges, that the first migrant peoples of India settled. The alluvial plains of the Jumna and the Ganges, stretching from the Punjab to the sea in the east and yearly bringing down from the Himalayan slopes and scattering right and left the thick grain-producing silt, were the El Dorado of these wandering tribes.

Here, then, it is time to ask who these wandering tribes may have been. They are known to history as the Aryans. The science of comparative philology has established that they were kinsmen of the tribes that gave birth to the peoples of modern Europe. Some cause such as the drying up of food lands in central Asia may have driven them south and east, as centuries later their kinsmen were driven to Europe in its making. Modern surmise has it that they entered India in two sections — one, said to be the earlier, came to India by the historic highway of the Kabul valley, the later is said to have climbed over the more northern range of the Himalayas, here known as the Hindukush, and to have then passed through Gilgit and Chitral to the north of the Punjab. But however they came, the Aryans first entered India by way of the Punjab. The land, then,

could not have been more green and pleasant than it is now, for they did not settle there forever. The grim severity of the country, with its frequent chasms and bare, hard, rocky elevations; its scattered sandy wastes relieved only by low bushes and reeds, leaving nothing for them except the dull, sunbaked, frostbitten plains, did not hold the Aryan immigrants long in this part of India. Even the rivers which had first invited them could not allure them longer. The Indus rising from the mountain heights of the Himalayas and flowing northwestward over the snowy ranges of the Pamirs, and thence through the passes of the Hindukush and the Karakorum, suddenly bends southward, and as if roused by this sudden turn, roars down the plains of the Punjab, foaming and frothing, and dashing against the rocky obstacles that here and there stand in its path.

It is indeed not a friendly little river. It thunders along in torrents in early summer, floods people out of their settlements near by, and even in the best of times does not attract one to its banks. The other rivers of the Punjab are just as unattractive though not so hostile. At present, thanks to modern irrigation systems and canals, these rivers of the Punjab have been made serviceable to man. In those early times they, like the land they watered, only just allowed human colonization. But the colonists were not allowed to stay there long, much less forever.

#### 4. EARLY ARYAN ADVANCES

It was in the Punjab, therefore, that the Aryans, who were to put their impress on India, first settled. They came there as nomads, divided into several tribes. Some women must have come with them, although the theory to which we referred asserts that only the first batch of Aryan immigrants came with women. The reason was that the Punjab seemed more attractive to the first batch, who could not as yet have known it, than it was for the second. From the

beginning they clashed with the aborigines, whom, in their first poems, the *Rig Veda*, they called by names such as *Dasyu* or "black," *Anasa* or "noseless." They fought battles with them of which one is known as the battle of the ten kings. This conflict on the banks of the Saraswati gives us the name of the first king Indian history knows so far, King Sudas. They made slaves of the original people, coining the Sanskrit word, *Dasa* or *Dasi*, which has passed into general Indian vocabulary to mean slave or servant.

Their civilization was not higher than that of nomads first striking roots in a country. They came in tribes or clans and they settled in groups. They came and conquered and settled down as *societes communitaires*, not in *societes particularistes*, to use the phraseology of the school of Le Play. They thus formed small, crude groups of villages, coming with cattle, oxen, and the horses on which they rode into India, as many of their successors in invasion. They soon settled down to agriculture, learning it from the more civilized people they conquered, cultivating the wheat and the barley for which the Punjab has since become famous; but like pastoral nomads they did not disdain meat and milk and butter. The latter, on account of the heat which naturally melted it, they soon came to know as *ghi*.

Their political and social organization belonged to the pastoral stage. That is to say it was patriarchal. Each tribe had a leader whom it looked upon as their father, their leader in war and peace, but especially in war. Religion played an important part in the life of these primitive peoples, especially as they were venturing into strange lands, amid strange sights, and among strange peoples.

The *purohit*, or family priest, was an important personage in the household of the patriarchal chiefs of the tribe, offering sacrifices like that of the Soma plant or its juice, and praying to the tribal gods for victory against their foes. Their religion consisted in worship of the forces of nature,

so useful to a people finding its feet on the road to civilization. Indra, the god of thunder, and Varuna, the god of sky and wind, figure large and frequently in their first prayers and hymns. Saraswati, the river, the last of the rivers they crossed in the Punjab and which was beneficent to them, became later their goddess of wisdom. A touch of poetry is given by Ushas, the goddess of the shining dawn.

## 5. ARYAN HISTORY UNFOLDS

In this land of the Punjab, divided up by its rivers, the Aryan tribes tried their primitive hand at kingdom making. What Alexander the Great found centuries later, in 320 B.C. — the Punjab divided up among a number of small kingdoms or republics, none of them large enough to resist him — must have existed then, when with the arrival of the Aryan peoples the history of this part of India first began. None of these tribes (the Purus, the Turvasas, the Yadus, the Anus, the Druhyus) was able to dominate the others. Sudas, king of the tribe of the Tritus, the first king of Indian history whom we have met already, did indeed war against other tribes and confederations of tribes about the banks of the Saraswati and along the border river of the Jumna. Amalgamation and confederations and conquests of tribes by one another were probably frequent enough but never permanent. The one thing they accomplished was the steady, though slow and hard-fought, pushing of the native Dravidian tribes into mountain and desert fastnesses.

After spending some time in the Punjab — about a thousand years, 2000 to 1000 B.C. — the Aryans, answering the beckoning call of more fruitful rivers, moved eastward toward the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, halting first a short time near the intermediate river of the sacred Saraswati. These two rivers, the Jumna and the Ganges, rising from different spots on the Himalayas and running parallel to each other for about 750 miles, form the Doab

(the land between two rivers). By uniting their waters at Prayag, the modern Allahabad, they form one of the most fertile tracts of India. The rich silt these two streams bring down from the hills to the plains make this land big with corn and grain, vegetable and fruit. The Ganges, especially, nourished and enriched the soil. Its broad bosom, which in places looks more like a sea than a river — the Sanskrit word *Samudra* stands more often for river than for ocean in the old books — has covered and warmed it with its fertilizing embrace. Its banks, throughout the ages, have been studded with the temples of their worship, the shrines of their gods, the seats of their sannyasins and rishis. So the Ganges made the Hindus, as the Nile made the Egyptians. It is no wonder that they worship it as Mother Ganga.

Here, then, the Aryans settled, and here they lived long and prosperously. It is here that they produced their characteristic civilization and culture. It is here that they built their kingdoms of Kosala, Videha, and Magadha, which were their first great attempts at statemaking. Here, too, are to be found the holy cities of Indraprastha (the modern Delhi), Hastinapur, Kasi (the modern Benares, Mecca of the Hindus), and Kasaumbi, Mathura, Kanyakubja, Ayodhya, Mithila. Here were lived those royal lives, and here were fought the long wars celebrated in the epics of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Here was the battlefield of Kurukshetra and here took place the long-drawn-out wars between the Kurus and the Pandavas. Here, in fine, was molded and forged and knit that social organization known to moderns as the caste system, governing the Hindus, their individual and social lives, under the name and title of *Varnashrama Dharma*. Here men conceived and contemplated the ideas that found later expression in the philosophical works of the *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads*. This land it was that saw the flowering of Aryan culture. It was the middle land of ancient India, the Madhyadesa.

The fertile valleys of the Ganges gave birth to a growing population. And the growth of this population drove the adventurers onward along the course of the Ganges. They were attracted on the way by the waters of the numerous tributaries to this mighty stream: the Ramaganga, the Gomati, the Goghen, the Rapti, the Rohini, the Kosi on the south, the Karamasa, the immense torrents of the Sona, the Gandaki. On the way they founded small kingdoms in the country first known as Magadha and later, because of the prevalence of religious houses at that period, given the name of Bihar, the country of *Vihara*, or monasteries. The Ganges, as it nears the eastern limits of this country, is deflected by the Rajmahal hills and turns a little to the north. After passing these eastern outcroppings of the Vindhyas (the mountain range which separates without dividing the north from the south) and other offshoots, such as the Goudwana forest ranges, the Aryans continued their wandering along its eastern course and that of its tributaries, the Teesta on the north and the Hooghly on the south, until they reached another fertile tract, known as Bengal. Here the natural features of Bihar continue — flat plains and valleys interrupted by no ranges of hills, but relieved only by plateau lands like that of Chota Nagpur. Here, too, before the onward march of the invading Aryans, the aboriginal tribes went into hiding within the forests of these lands where they have been discovered only in our times: the Mundas, the Oraons, and the Santals. The Aryans themselves went on to the east, following the Ganges and its tributary the Kosi, till they were stopped by the sea on the southeast and by a broad roaring river, the Brahmaputra, in the extreme east.

Bihar continued the history of Madhyadesa. It also was fertile and became populous. Aryan history here also has the same characteristic as in their typical country of Madhyadesa. Here also they established petty kingdoms —



Kosala, Magadha, Anga. Famous old cities, like those of Rajagriha (the house of the king), Pataliputra, Gaya, rose and flourished on the banks of the Ganges or its tributaries. But it is on account of Buddha (557 to 477 B.C.), who was the son of one of the kings of these petty kingdoms, that Bihar wins a place in world history. The Buddhism that he founded challenged the dominant religion of the Brahmins, who were the priestly class of the Hindus. It challenged their popular polytheism, their hereditary priesthood, the social divisions based on birth which were sanctioned by them, and proclaimed instead the equality of all men, the sinfulness of bloodshed, and the suppression of desire as the goal of all moral and religious endeavor. It was the monasteries built for the monks of the new faith that gave this country, as we have just seen, its name of Bihar.

The same country gave to India its most honored King Asoka (275 to 225 B.C.), who according to Acton was the first king to proclaim and establish by enactment the principle of toleration. His rock and pillar edicts are scattered all over India. But the pacifism of Buddhism did not preserve Asoka's kingdom. The last of the Mauryan dynasty, of which Asoka was the greatest, was overthrown by the Sungas in 185 B.C. The Guptas (A.D. 275 to 500) replaced the imperial glories of the Mauryas. The most powerful of them was Samudra Gupta (A.D. 335 to 385) who violently uprooted many kings of the lands of the Aryans (Madhyadesa and Bihar), all the kings of the forest country (northwest and east), and the kings of the south as far as the Malabar country on the southwest coast of India. But these conquests were not permanent, they were only raids accompanied by collection of heavy tribute. The end of the Gupta dynasty about A.D. 500 was the dull end of most Hindu dynasties — incompetence in the later rulers, intrigue at their courts, narrowing of the limits of their

kingdom, and finally destruction by a slightly more powerful dynasty. The Guptas were conquered about A.D. 500 by the foreign dynasty of the Huns.

The transition from Bihar to Bengal is marked at the place where the Ganges passes by the hilly region of the Pahari, stumbles over rocky boulders and cliffs, and thus makes navigation difficult from the one country to the other. From this spot the Ganges flows due south. Bengal lies between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their frequent tributaries which change their beds with disconcerting frequency. It is a waterlogged, water-sodden, water-drenched country. Not a stone, it is said, is to be found in the whole of Bengal. Swamps and marshes abound. It is lush with vegetation. The ebb and flow of water to and from the sea covers 40 miles inland, while the low-lying land, overpowered by water, is hot, humid, and languorous. It has a trying, depressing climate approximately nine months in the year.

The Aryans, who were led into it by the course of the Ganges, had no cause to be grateful to it. The dominance of nature, nowhere in India so overwhelming as in Bengal, was too much for them. They left the land to the tyranny of its flora and fauna, its forest trees and its tigers; and so the Sunderband, the forest of the Sundri (the *Heritiera littoralis*) at the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, is still unconquered by man. It must not be considered ever to have been a part of the holy land of the Aryans or Aryavarta. Only one arm of the Ganges, the Bhagirati, was held to be holy. Only one kingdom and one city, that of Gaur whose ruins are extensive, is memorable in the history of Aryan Bengal. Aryan dominion tapered off thin toward the lower reaches of the river.

Balked by the impassable waters of the Brahmaputra, and by the Naga and Garo mountains in the east, and further discouraged and depressed by the heaviness of nature in

Bengal, groups of Aryan peoples tempted their luck in the regions toward the south. Between the easternmost ranges of the Vindhya and the forests of Gondwana in the heart of India on the one side, and the coast on the other, there is a gap which sucked them toward the south. Here were rivers to welcome them: the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna. The eastern Ghats are not so near the coast as the western and left the way open for the Aryan immigration to flow down along the east coast. The Aryans in this southern trip entered definitely into the region of the tropics, tempered however by the cool breezes from the sea. On their way down, sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C., they founded in the south, as in the north, little kingdoms like those of the Rajavar in Orissa, the country of the Oriyas, a people akin to those of Bengal whom Indian tradition describes as a non-Aryan people. But the Aryans soon brahminized them so that Orissa became one of the strongholds of the Brahminic culture and religion, to which the great temples of Puri, Konarak, and Bhuaneshwar bear witness. It became one of the holiest lands of Hinduism, the Krishna of the Hindu gods, especially of Jagannath, the lord of the world.

By this time the Aryan immigration must have trickled down in colonizing dribblets, not in invading groups. The *Ramayana* speaks of the forests of the Dandaka (central India), and of Dakshinaprastha (the Dekhan), and of the valleys of the Godavari as being civilized and brought within the field of Aryan culture by individual settlers — rishis and sannyasins. Among them were men like Agastya whom Rama met somewhere south of the Vindhya. It was Agastya who acted as Rama's counselor and as guide on his journeys in the south, and who through his missionary activities converted the sacrifice-destroying and priest-devouring Rakshasas of the Gondwana into followers of the Aryan religion and culture.

According to an Orissa tradition<sup>1</sup> a holy rishi in the north of Orissa had five sons each of whom carved out for himself a military kingdom beyond the Aryan territory. The holy hill of Mahendragiri in Orissa is said to have been a settlement of such rishis. The "monkeys" and their leader Hanuman, whose exploits on the side of Rama are narrated in the *Ramayana*, really represented the Dravidian tribes whom Rama and his holy men brought into the Aryan fold – for then, as now, historians used to call peoples, whom they did not like, names.

As the Aryan immigrants infiltrated into the south along the east coast they did not find it all easy going. They found powerful Dravidian kingdoms established there disputing their right to settlement. Among the peoples of these kingdoms must be counted the Andhras, ancestors of the modern Telugu people, and, in fact, we find their name mentioned in one of the later religious books of the Aryans. As early as the period of the Mauryas, about 500 B.C., their advance in civilization was illustrated by the possession of a large army and about thirty fortified places. The Andhras were not satisfied with dominion in their own country of the valleys of the Godavari and the Krishna, on the banks of which were their capitals like Amaravati, city of the marble sculptures, but they sought imperial expansion – sometimes across the whole width of India as far west as Nasik and Gujarat in the present Bombay province and north into Magadha. Their commercial adventures, which are celebrated by the author of the *Periplus*, carried them east as well as west.

## 6. THE TAMIL AND PANDYA KINGDOMS

Still farther south in the valleys of the Penner, the Cauvery, and the Tamraparini was Tamilakam, the country of the Tamil people.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Hunter in his *Orissa*.

The Tamils were the finest fruit of the life and history of the Dravidians, the first people, as we pointed out, of Indian history. Their kingdoms of the Pandyan and the Cholas were the greatest political expression of the genius of the Tamil race. Nonetheless their later civilization and culture were greatly influenced by the institutions of the Aryan immigrants. According to Aryan legend, Madura, the capital of one of those Tamil kingdoms, and also the Chola kingdom and Kerala, owed their origin to men from the north. But that may be only history written by Aryans and may not indeed mean more than that Aryan colonists brought Aryan religion and culture with them. The Tamils passed through the successive influences of Brahminism and Buddhism and Jainism. They adopted the caste system of the Aryans. They, too, were not able to found large stable kingdoms. But the foundations of their culture and civilization were Dravidian.

The Tamil language was fundamentally a Dravidian language. Its grammar and syntax were its own — only in vocabulary was it slightly influenced by the Aryan Sanskrit. The Tamils were superior in civilization to the contemporary Aryans. Trade and commerce flourished among them. From the earliest times they had traded with Arabia, Egypt, and Rome in the west, and with Malaya and China on the east. Their spices, ivory, and muslins were eagerly sought by the Argonauts of several nations. Roman gold, we hear the Romans complain, was passed into the Tamil country to buy the luxuries the Tamils produced, and Roman coins may still be discovered on the coasts of the Madras province.

First among the kingdoms in the Tamil country which the Aryans must have come across was that of the Chola. This tribe was early enough to be mentioned in the edicts of Asoka. Their territory lay between the Penner and Vellar rivers, corresponding to the modern districts of Chingleput, Arcot, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly of the Madras province.

They were imperial enough even in those early times to lead an invasion into Ceylon, about the middle of the second century before Christ. Their greatest period was that of Karikala Chola, in the middle of the second century A.D. He began the series of irrigation works on the Cauvery and built tanks where there were no rivers, for which the Cholas are remembered in Indian history. He made the port of Kaveripatnam, now alas eaten up by the voracious sea. In fact, the glories of the Cholas, after an eclipse, were once again recovered in the tenth century A.D. under Rajaraja who made himself king, conquering other Dravidian kingdoms, defeating one of them, the Chera, in a naval battle off the Malabar coast, and carrying his imperial banner as far as Orissa in the north and Ceylon in the south. But the Chola dynasty like other dynasties — for causes which we shall later describe — ended in incessant petty fruitless warfare. They were not able to hold what their fathers had built and the great Tamil kingdom of the Cholas came to an end in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The kingdom of the Pandya is early enough to be mentioned by Magasthenes as a flourishing kingdom. Their connection with the Pandavas, the tribe opposed to the Kurus in the epic of the *Mahabharata*, is laughed out of court by the Hindu historian. But the Pandavas followed the Dravidian tribal custom of polyandry, which still prevails among some Tibetan tribes and among the orthodox Nairs of Malabar, and had only one common wife, the celebrated Draupadi. Pliny also spoke of woman's rule among the Pandys.

The black and undying hatred which subsisted between the Kurus and the Pandavas, which would be inexplicable if it had existed between brother Aryans, lends color to the view that the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata* were the Dravidian founders of the Pandya kingdom. Probably they were a north Dravidian tribe, thrust down by Aryan penetration

into the south via the forest of the Dekhan. The *Mahabharata*, it will be remembered, gives them a spell of exile in Dakshinaprastha.

Whatever their origin the Pandyan built a great dynasty and kingdom. They occupied, more or less, the territory now consisting of the modern southeastern districts of the Madras province, Madura, Ramnad, and Tinnevely. Their capital was the great city of Madura. The Pandyan country, watered by the Tamraparini and the Vaigai, was a fertile and prosperous land. Its wealth included pearls and precious stones. Their greatest conqueror was Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira, who carried the Pandyan banner as far as Mangalore on the west coast. One Pandyan also is said to have invaded Ceylon. The greatest of the later Pandyan was Sundara Pandyan who after conquering the Cholas and the Cheras, ruled over the whole of the peninsula and assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja, or king of kings. Pandyan rule was threatened by the empire of the Cholas and their ultimate fate also was that of the Cholas — decay and extinction arising from civil war and weakness.

## 7. THE WEST COAST AND ARYAN PEOPLES

While this Aryan infiltration was dripping down along the east coast, how did the west coast fare? Here there are contrasting features. The extensive mountain range on the west coast, known as the western Ghats, is much higher than that of the eastern Ghats. Its many peaks range from 5000 to 7000 feet, very thickly wooded, much nearer the coast, much less interrupted than that of the eastern Ghats. But here also there is a gap between the western end of the Vindhya and the northern part of the Ghats, through which immigrant communities from the north could have drifted. From the banks of the Jumna some Aryan tribes must have drifted south through the fertile lands upon which the shadow of the Aravalli hills fell and through

which the waters of its river, the Parmara, flowed following the course of the now lost Saraswati. They soon struck the still more fertile lands of Sourashtra (the modern Gujarat) Gokarna, the valley of the Panjakni, the modern Tapti, Khandesh, and the valley of the Narmada, and farther south Prabhasi (the shining lord), the modern Konkam — all rich in *tirthas*, or places of pilgrimage. The waters and the valleys of the Tapti and the Narmada would have tempted them. They founded the town of Ujjain on the way.

The western Ghats slowly and gently slope down toward the east, while the plentiful showers of rain thrown by the monsoon clouds as they strike against the Ghats from the southwest make this region, immediately to either side of the Ghats, a fertile land. Farther to the east is the plateau of the Dekhan, watered by the Godavari and Krishna and their tributaries, such as the Wardha and the Bhima which rise in the neighborhood of the Ghats and flow eastward, making it just possible for the Dekhan to produce food with the aid of the toil and sweat of a sturdy people.

This northern part of the Ghats and Dekhan is the home of the Mahrattas. Their Sanskrit language bespeaks Aryan influence but not Aryan origin. They are described as of Scytho-Dravidian origin, but modern scholarship has detected little Scythian influence. They were probably another southern people of mixed Aryan and Dravidian origin, the Dravidian base being supplied by the Bhils and the Kunbis, remnants of whom are still to be found in central India.

South of the Mahratta coastland comes Kanara, home of another Aryan people, with its soil, made fertile by the southwest monsoon rains, bearing the coconut and areca palms, the pepper creepers, and the forests of the teak tree. It is connected with the middle and east Dekhan by many passes, and the coast is provided with small ports like Ratnagiri, Honavar, and Mangalore. Here also a Sanskrit



speech, the Kannada, was formed, although it has not killed the aboriginal Tulu. South of Kanara is the more famous coastland of Malabar. Thence the Ghats lead off to the east to the plateau lands of Wynand and Mysore and the junction of the western and eastern Ghats in the highlands of the Nilgiris mountains.

Here on the west coast, in the Konkam, in Kanara, and coastal Malabar, the country is divided by hill and river into small territories. Small kingdoms have been the order of the day all along the coast from the Tapti to Cape Comorin. Numerous dynasties succeeded each other in Maharashtra: the Chalukyas (A.D. 500 to 800), the Rashtrakutas (A.D. 800 to 1000), the Hoysalas (A.D. 1000 to 1200), and the Kadambas (A.D. 1200 to 1400) follow each other, fight each other, dominate one over the other, raise themselves into imperial expansion, and then die down beaten and broken.

The fortunes of one of these is typical. The Kanara territory gave birth to a great southern dynasty, the Kadambas. Founded by a Brahmin Mayuraram who, stung into imperial adventure by the taunt of Kshtriya students at Kanchi (modern Conjeevaram) near Madras, directed at his clerkly caste, exchanged the implements of sacrifice for the sword. The rule of the Kadambas in Kanara began about A.D. 350. They pursued the social and political course of ancient Indian kingdoms, wars with their neighbors in which they showed themselves incapable of conquering or being conquered by others, and finally like the rest falling before the strong and successful arms of a united foe.

#### 8. THE EARLY CHERA CIVILIZATION

Malabar also had a native dynasty in the Cheras, the last of the Dravidian peoples among whom the Aryans percolated, occupying the territory now belonging to British Malabar and the Indian states of Cochin and Travancore.

The legends of Kerala (as the land of the Cheras was called) ascribe its making to Aryan origins, to Parasurama who, after destroying the native kings, gave the land to Kasyapa. The latter, in return, denied his benefactor a dwelling place on the land he had released. Parasurama reclaimed land from the ocean and formed the coastal states of Malabar.

But how, we wonder, did these Aryan settlers, whom the legend reveals, come into Malabar or Kerala? They must have come in fairly large groups, for small infiltrations could not have endured the journey down the east coast and could not have effected the conquest which the story of Parasurama implies. Moreover, the unmistakable Aryan features which the higher castes of Malabar betray — their fair skin, dolichocephalic head, straight nose — together with the greater domination exercised by their civilization and culture — indicate that the Aryan settlers of Malabar must have come there by way of the sea, following along Gujarat and the Konkam, making use of the ports and harbors during the comparative calm that succeeds the southwest monsoon, thus making maritime intercourse possible and frequent on that coast of India. Phoenician traders brought the gold, sandalwood, and ivory, the monkeys and peacocks of India to the courts of King Hiram and King Solomon. What the Phoenicians did for India the early Aryans might have accomplished over the area from the north to the southwest coast of India.

Though the sea was strange to them, and later was forbidden by their law books, yet necessity might have forced them to venture out, hugging the coast, as they went along. Probably, too, they were rowed to their destination by Dravidian boatmen. The language of the Cheras was Malayalam, a derivation from Tamil. The king of the Cheras, or the Keralas as they later called themselves, figured also in Asoka's inscriptions. Their wealth was due to the pepper,

caradamum, and other spices which were cultivated and brought by them into the trade and commerce with the west. The Chera country was subjected to invasion by the Cholas and the Pandyan.

The Cheras had the same fortunes as the others — rising as a small power, attempting and succeeding in imperial conquest at the expense of the eastern Pandyas or Cholas, more often conquered by the Pandyan, and then disappearing into the petty kingdoms that modern history discovered. But Malabar is memorable in Indian history because on its coasts were established permanent centers of trade and commerce with the west. While the ports of Honavar and Mangalore, in Kanara, served mainly internal and coast trade, the Malabar ports of Calicut, Cochin, and Quilon opened Malabar to trade and intercourse with the western world — with Africa, Arabia, and Europe. It is through Malabar that India came into commercial and political contact with the world outside Asia. Now and then a Chera king like Senguttuvan, the Red Chera, is credited with conquests to the north. Although frequently invaded by the Pandyas and Cholas, the Cheras were able to resume their independence. Protected by the mountain ranges of the western Ghats and the broad rivers which flow from them, they preserved their isolated independence late into Indian history.

#### 9. THE DEKHAN AND THE SOUTH

The Aryans in their southward drift, whether in communal groups or as isolated individuals, sought the line of least resistance. They did not dare, in face of the difficulties offered by the Vindhya mountains, to rush on into the thick wildernesses of the Gondwana forest. No mention is made of Aryan settlement here in the epics. Arjuna's Tirtha (or pilgrim) journeys did not include this central, mountainous forest block. Neither *Digvijaya* (typifying the ideal

of bringing India under one Chattri) nor *Asvamedha*, the imperial horse sacrifice, typical Aryan idea, operated there. The Aryans left this tract severely alone, peopling it, in their imagination, with monstrous shapes of one-footed people, the ball-eared Karmapravaras, the black-faced Kalamukhas, the man-eating Nishadas — all various names given by these superior Aryans to the native Dravidians of these parts. Aryan influence penetrated as far as the valleys of the great rivers: the Mahanadi, the Godavari, and the Krishna on the east; the Narmada, the Tapti, and the Bhima on the west — all sacred rivers of the Aryans, all dotted with tirthas and temples. Beyond this lay the darkness of Mlechaland. A long night descended upon the Dravidas of the Dakshinaprastha till light shown upon them again from the west in modern times.

This southern part of India, the historic Dakshinaprastha or the modern Dekhan, stands out in its geographical features in striking contrast to northern India. It is not only geologically and historically the older part of India, but it is much more varied in its physical aspects. Here we meet no longer with the monotonous feature of the low river valleys of the north. The high mountains of the western Ghats, the plateau sloping down from the western to the eastern Ghats, forming the rolling downs of the Dekhan, and the low coastland beyond the eastern Ghats now offer a variety of physical texture not to be found in the north. Here are rivers and mountains made for small polities. The Dekhan therefore had more excuse than the north for the pettiness and impermanence of its political systems. The kingdoms of the east coast, the kingdoms of the central plateau, and the kingdoms of the west coast lived their own secluded lives except for spurts of imperial extension. But separated though it was by its geographical features from northern India, the south was not secluded from it. No great mountain ranges kept the two parts of India iso-

lated from each other. The sea, too, binds north and south together, for more intercourse was carried on by way of the sea than by land. Sailing boats and ships made shrewd use of the southwest and northeast monsoons to sail up and down the coasts of India carrying north. The Vindhya mountains between northern and southern India are easily pierced, and pierced they have been by strong and united peoples. If the ancient Aryans penetrated to the south in the gaps on the east and west of the Vindhyas it was because they were the line of least resistance. But the forest of the Vindhyas, the Gondwana of the Dekhan, and the Nilgiris offered a refuge to the aboriginal Dravidian tribes who fled before the coming of the Aryans to the south. It is now that the sciences of ethnography and anthropology are able to discover and study the lost cultures of the real natives of India. In two modern states, Cochin and Travancore, under the layers of aryanized and modern civilization and culture, lurk old Dravidian laws and customs like those of polyandry and matriarchy.

The Dekhan stands in striking contrast to northern India in another important feature. Its seacoast, east and west, has given India an opportunity of establishing commercial and cultural contacts with the countries of the east and the west. It is the sea, surrounding the Dekhan, that gives India its international position. In the south began the ancient history of India. The south it is that gives India a place in the history of the world.

This survey of the ancient history of India in relation to the land and the people brings out the outstanding fact that India is a geographical entity, united within itself and separated from the rest of the world. The high ranges of the Himalayas on the north, and to a lesser extent on the east and the west, guard it as few mountain ranges guard and defend and separate a country against the rest of the world. The sea which beats upon about 3000 miles of its territory

marks a definite and decisive boundary. Within, no great mountain ranges divide India up into bits. From the Indus to the Brahmaputra it is one broad level plain. The Aravalli range, lying southwest to northwest on the eastern outskirts of the Rajaputana desert, merely relieves the monotony of this tract of country. The Vindhya present no lofty barrier between the north and the south. The gaps in the east and in the west, between its ends and the sea, have allowed north and south to flow into each other. The mountains and rivers of the Dekhan, although they gave rise to small kingdoms, could not have stood in the way of the formation of large empires.

Other natural features also make for unity. Its climate gives India a distinct individuality. Its rain is borne to all parts of the country by the southwest and northeast monsoons. Its seasons on the plains — hot, rainy, or cold — prevail throughout the length and breadth of India. Only the degree of heat and cold and the amount of rainfall vary from part to part. India thus possesses a national flora and fauna. The trees and flowers of the plains, the peepul, the mango, the neems, the champak, the jasmine are easily recognized by pilgrims and secular travelers from the south to the north and from the north to the south. The *Butea frondosa*, the true flame of the forest, occurs to the north and the south of the Vindhya. The elephant is the symbolic animal of India — while the tiger, the panther, and the cheetah, as well as the cobra, are found everywhere. Nature has stamped India with a distinct impression. The geography of India calls for unity. It is one of the saddest ironies of history that this country, destined by nature to be one and undivided, has throughout refused to become what it was so admirably suited to be. To unfold the causes of this tragedy will be our next task.

## II. SOCIETY RATHER THAN STATE IN INDIA

### 10. ATTEMPTS AT IMPERIAL EXPANSION

THE patriotic Indian historian, when he snatched from his British predecessor the right to narrate the history of his country, was determined to prove that India could give as good a political account of itself as any other country. If other countries had a political history he also would write one for India. If the history of other countries chronicled the story of the reign of one king after another, of one dynasty after another, he would not fail to piece out a similar account. If the state figures largely in the history of Greece and Rome and the countries of medieval and modern Europe he must make it figure as large as he can in the history of India. But the sources of Indian history have always defeated him. They have made him appear as a maker of bricks without straw.

It is usual for the historian of India, native as well as foreign, to deplore the paucity of historical documents as sources for the history of the country. But it cannot be that only historical documents have perished on account of time, *edax rerum*, as it is in India. When voluminous sources of its religion, philosophy, and law—the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*, the law books printed and published in about twenty-five large volumes of the famous series of the Sacred Books of the East, the great documents of its literature, the epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the dramas of Kalidasa, the Tamil poems of Tiruvalluvar, Silappathikaram, Manimekhalai, long and weighty as they were, indited on palmyra leaves—have all come to us undamaged from the distant past, it could not be that only the documents of its history have perished. The fact is that there

were very few such documents to perish. And they were so few because there were so few facts of history to chronicle.

For what do the documents available now show? Let us admit that it is not as if we had no historical evidence at all. Apart from chronicles like Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, the *Puranas*, and other palmyra leaf or paper documents, there is the large corpus of inscriptions on rocks and on temple walls that have been discovered and deciphered in the past fifty years. These sources of Indian history, when they chronicle secular affairs, reveal a monotonous succession of kings, their births or their deaths or their era, their long and legendary ancestry, their petty exploits in wars, their attempts at expansion, their conquering and being conquered, strutting on the stage of history dressed in a little brief authority and then disappearing, leaving not a rack.

The chronicles, inscriptions, and external sources do speak of some attempts at politics on the large scale. The ideal of bringing the whole of India under one *chatri*, or umbrella (the symbol of kingly rule), the ideal of Digvijaya, has impelled ancient Hindu rulers here and there to aim at the founding of large empires. Thus there was the early attempt of Chandragupta (322 to 298 B.C.), of the Mauryan dynasty who went northwestward from Maghada, destroyed Selucid rule, a legacy of Alexander the Great, in the Punjab and added it to his empire. His grandson, Asoka, the Buddhist (275 to 236 B.C.) continued the great work, extending the limits of the Mauryan empire to the south as far as the northern Penner. With an army of 60,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 9600 war elephants he is said to have carried his victorious army over three fourths of India. Nor was it a mere conquest. The conquered territories were well organized for government, for the central government was organized in six administrative boards. The information furnished by Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (about 300 B.C.) shows a detailed system of administration betokening great activity



on the part of government, controlling and taxing drink, prostitution, weights and measures, rates and prices, roads and wells. But the Mauryan effort at expansion came to an end when Asoka and his empire was split into petty kingdoms once again.

To another great northern dynasty, the Guptas, with their capital at Kanauj belonged to Samudragupta (A.D. 335 to 385) who extended his empire until it included a large portion of northern India. He struck first toward the south on the east coast as far as the river Krishna, bringing a number of Dekhan kingdoms — Kerala, Mahakantara, Pithapuram, Kottura, Devarashtra — under his sway. He further laid his hands on the forest tribes of central India and in the east, Kamarupa (modern Assam), and subdued the tribal republic of the Yaudheyas, the Abhiras, and others on the west. His sphere of influence extended as far as the Himalayas in the north and Krishna in the south. His imperial sovereignty was signalized by the Asvamedha, the horse-sacrifice ceremony, according to which the emperor's horse was let loose to roam as he pleased, guarded by a body of youthful heroes who dared anyone to say nay to the horse or to them, and was sacrificed on his return to his master's palace as a symbolic thanksgiving for the king's conquests. After Samudragupta's sovereign sway in India as maharajadhiraja (king of kings), the Gupta empire faded away about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The third attempt at imperial expansion in ancient India was that of Harshavardhana, in the seventh century A.D. Starting from the nucleus of a small kingdom in the Punjab, Harshavardhana carved out a large state. He was constantly on the move, "the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unhelmeted," and he succeeded in conquering the five lands of the Panchanad of antiquity (the modern Punjab) and bringing the whole of northern India from eastern Bengal to the Punjab under one scepter.

The imperial attempt of Harshavardhana was frustrated by the movements of a Dekhan king, Pulikesan II, for the Dravidian, or Dravida-Aryan kingdoms of the south were not free from imperial ambitions. The attempt of the Dravidian peoples of the south — the Andhras, the Pandyas, the Cholas, the Cheras — to found large and flourishing kingdoms has already been narrated. Some of them, like the Chola king Karikala Chola, in the fourth century A.D., aimed at large-scale conquest. By defeating the combined army of the Pandyas and the Cheras he actually brought the whole of southern India under one sway. Another such attempt was that of Srimara of the Pandyan house who extended his rule to Ceylon in the ninth century A.D. And in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a succession of able and distinguished rulers made the second empire of the Pandyans a real power in the politics of south India, extending it as far north as Nellore and Cuddappah. Still another attempt at imperial expansion was that of the Cholas in the eleventh century, when Rajendra Chola, at about A.D. 1023, after subduing southern India sent his armies to Bihar and Bengal. Nor may we here omit the more aryanized dynasty of the Pallavas of Kanchi, who became paramount in the Dekhan in the middle of the eighth century A.D. and whose conquests extended over into the north.

None of these attempts at imperial expansion all over India, few and far between as they have been, lasted long or were thereafter built upon so as to make a finished or lasting edifice of country-wide sovereignty. These attempts resemble the waves of the surf that beat on the Indian coast, one or two occasionally rising higher than the rest; but always they were thrown back upon themselves. The end result of such a process in nature is that the land keeps its bounds intact and the sea does not get much farther forward. Or to use another simile, these efforts of Indian

kings and kingdoms to increase the orbit of their sway resemble the helplessness of a man who is asked to run a race bound hand and foot. He goes some distance, stumbles, falls, grows tired, sits down along the way, and sees the race run by men not so encumbered as he. What was the obstacle or obstacles that have stood in the way of the making of the state in India? What was the cause of this perpetual political frustration in ancient India?

#### 11. POLITICAL FRUSTRATION UNDER CASTE

The discovery of this cause or causes may explain the course of Indian history. In the first place the idea of the state did not fill any large place in ancient Indian thought and life. Take the evidence of the classics of ancient Indian literature. Apart from the profoundly religious and philosophical books in which it would be unfair to look for traces of political life — though in Europe, as we may recall, St. Thomas Aquinas did not disdain to discuss in his *Summa Theologica* questions of law and politics — the epics, the dramas, and the fables refer only to the most elementary political matters: the lives of kings and queens, court and palace intrigues, wars and alliances. There is very little information about the organization of the government of the king, the relations between the center and circumference of government, the central and the local administration, the impact of government upon peoples, the reactions of the people to the acts of government. What do the chronicles like the *Rajatarangini* or the numerous inscriptions that have been discovered narrate except the waging of wars and the making of conquests, the founding of temples, the endowments of Brahmins, purely administrative acts like the building of tanks, or the petty and routine acts of village administration.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a handbook of administration rather than of politics, no doubt speaks of what a well-

organized system of administration reaching from the center to the circumference, from the capital to the villages by way of the districts, should be. It speaks of ministers of the king, councilors, controllers, superintendents, and collectors-general of revenue, armies, and commanders. But the statements of Kautilya in regard to this organized administration are denied by the facts of history. It looks more like a didactic manual of administration than a description of administration as it was. The future tense and the imperative mood prevail throughout. This official shall do this and that official shall avoid that; this, that, or the other measure shall be taken by this, that, or the other department of the administration — such is the continuous plea of the *Arthashastra*.

If the ancient Indian state was so well articulated and well knit as Kautilya makes it out to have been, how did it happen to founder and suffer shipwreck as it did all over the country? The fact was that it was only the minimum of political life or of administrative organization that obtained in ancient India. The state was never too much with the people of those times. The place filled by the state elsewhere was in ancient India taken by society.

## 12. THE HINDU INSTITUTION OF CASTE

For what was the most important fact of the social life of ancient India? It was the organization known to moderns as caste. Its origin is attributed by some scholars to difference of color. A white, conquering race might stamp its rule upon dark-skinned peoples and by this device seek to organize conquerors and conquered into a well-knit society. The upper groups of this social division could be reached by the conquerors; the lower divisions fell to the lot of the conquered. This view is embodied not only in the Portuguese word "caste," but in the Hindu description: *Varnashrama Dharma* — "the law of the society of colors."

Others think that it arose, like classes and ranks all over the world, in differences created by work and occupation. But this theory, although it does take account of one of the original causes and sources of caste, does not give due importance to its distinctive feature. It is that caste is determined by birth and therefore is as unalterable as it is ineluctable. But whatever origin, caste was the overwhelming factor of the society of Hindu India.

Any history of India must bring out the might and the extent of the social institution of caste in the making of India. To omit an account of its influence on the course of Indian history would be like omitting, let us say, the mention of the Mass in the history of Europe, a fault that vitiates, as Hilaire Belloc never tired of pointing out, the works written by Protestant historians of the countries of medieval Europe. But while Catholicism was one of the influences that made the history of European countries, caste was the dominant influence of ancient Hindu life.

It is the social organization of Hindu India. It is the institution from which all other institutions derive their life and strength. Clearly the *Manavadharmasastra*, the Code of Manu, indicates on every page how marriage, the family, property, trade, and industry were all dominated by caste. Society and the state were ruled by it and according to its principles and practices. "His caste is his country," said a French missionary of the Hindu Madura in the seventeenth century. Religion itself is dominated by caste. For what is the definition of Hinduism? Certainly it is not "religious doctrine," for a Hindu may profess any religious belief, from atheism, of which there is an orthodox school of philosophy known as the Sankhya, to pure theism by way of pantheism and polytheism. A Hindu abandons his religion only when he leaves his caste. The confusion of castes, according to Manu, is the confusion of the world, the supreme social evil which all good Hindu kings must prevent.

The whole private and public life of a Hindu was dominated by caste. A true Hindu marriage was a caste marriage, that is a marriage between members of the same caste. All the rights and obligations that marriage creates, the discipline of family life, the right of a father over his children, rights of succession and inheritance, issue only from a caste marriage. A marriage outside one's caste was outside the law. According to Hindu orthodoxy, it was mere concubinage. The property of a Hindu cannot, according to Hindu law, be inherited by people outside his caste. Not his individual capacity and inclination, but the caste in which he was born, determine the manner in which he should earn his bread. Members of the higher castes could follow other professions than their ancestral ones in certain circumstances. The Hindu law books, including the Code of Manu, allow Brahmins to be soldiers, shepherds, and shopkeepers. But the law books would not allow the Sudra or the Chandala to become a priest, a teacher, or an administrator.

The very government of Hindu India has been determined by caste. The ruling classes belong to the Brahmin and Kshatriya castes. Sudras, no doubt, have carved out states, like the Nandas and Mauryas of ancient India, like Shivaji the Mahratta and the Madura Naicks in the seventeenth century. But they were always under the influence of the family *purohit* or pushed out of power by the Brahmin minister, or majordomo, as the successors of Shivaji were by the Peshwas. The village, which has always been the fundamental unit of Indian polity, has ever been a community of castes. The casteless people have always been outside the pale of village society. The outcaste meant very nearly an outlaw.

### 13. ORIGIN OF CASTE INFLUENCE

How did caste come to acquire this tremendous influence in the making of the individual and social character of the

Hindus? The differential of caste, that which distinguishes it from class elsewhere, is that the social divisions which it involves and implies are due to and founded on birth. How did the classes which we find in the time of the Aryan settlements in India, as depicted in the early Vedas, become converted into the castes that we find influential throughout Indian history? When did class become converted into caste in India? An answer to this question I have found in the primitive social organizations and religious ideas of the ancient Dravidians. The ancient Dravidians have left no evidence to prove this. But for want of ancient evidence we may take the present prevailing social organization of the Dravidian tribes discovered in modern times as being of the same race as the ancient Dravidians. Therein we find certain features which may have played a part in this ancient social revolution.

First of all the social groups into which many of these tribes are divided are very small.<sup>2</sup> The Kheryas move from jungle to jungle in not more than two families at a time; the Bihars, in small groups, of not more than ten families at a time; the Irulas of south Arcot dwell scattered in huts of never more than two or three in one place; the Kadirs of Cochin live in groups of ten, fifteen, or twenty huts like the Kukei clans in Assam whose peculiar vagabond strain, if not controlled, leads to villages splitting into hamlets and hamlets subdividing in turn, until in the Manipur hills we find single houses in the midst of dense jungles several miles from the next habitation.<sup>3</sup>

The Dravidian social group therefore was a very small one. The same cause that operates now may have operated in ancient times to keep down its size. According to the authority quoted,<sup>4</sup> "The dominance of the bamboo

<sup>2</sup> Hodson: *Primitive Culture of India*.

<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare: *The Kukei Clans*.

<sup>4</sup> Hodson: *op. cit.*

jungle and the custom which prevails among the Kukei Lushai clans, by which each son of a chief, as soon as he attained the marriageable age, was provided with a wife at his father's expense and given a certain number of households from his father's village and sent to a village of his own, keeps the tribal groups small."

Or as another authority on Rajput tribes accounts for this phenomenon: "The difficulty of marriage has been one cause of that constant *morcellement*, of splitting up into isolated groups, the larger group into smaller, which is a radical law of the dynamics which govern the construction of primitive societies."<sup>5</sup> This was probably how the ancient Dravidians spread over their borders and settled in India. In tiny little settlements they cleared primitive India of its jungles and wild beasts. The smallness and number of the later social divisions of India and their tendency to split is explained in that manner. The Aryans may have imitated the Dravidians — the example of a conquering people taking over the social organization of the conquered being a frequent phenomenon in history. \*

#### 14. TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS AND KARMA

Of particular importance for consideration here is the philosophy of life that animated the Dravidians. The belief in reincarnation is prevalent among the Dravidian tribes that we meet today in India. The Oraons of the central provinces hold that the dead man has two shades, one that goes to Marga, or heaven, and the other that remains among them. The two souls of the Bihar are reincarnated together in a new body which need not always belong to his own tribe. According to the Kols, the soul of man is not destroyed at death, but continues to exist in a shadowy body. The Lushais of the Assam hills think that the souls of men and women enter the bodies of leopards and tigers;

<sup>5</sup> Lyall: *Asiatic Studies*, Chap. III.



they also believe in a spirit world beyond the grave, access to which is not attained by a life of virtue while on earth, but by the due performances of sacrifices of men and animals. The Garos, also of Assam, believe in a speedy release from the purgatory of spiritland to which the souls of the dead are sent with the hope of a happy reincarnation. The idea of the transmigration of souls is common to many Dravidian tribes of today. It is a warrantable presumption that it must have prevailed among the Dravidian tribes that came into contact with the Aryans.

On the other hand, the Aryans, when they entered India and as they reveal themselves in the earliest Vedic hymns,<sup>6</sup> do not profess this doctrine of transmigration. The religion of the Aryans was a simple nature worship. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls the Aryans must have taken over from the Dravidian tribes whom they conquered.

This doctrine of the transmigration of souls became transformed and was built later by Brahmin thinkers into the philosophy of life known as Karma. The doctrine that man has more births than one, that his actions in the present life determine the character of his future life on earth, came to be the philosophy of life of the people of ancient India. This doctrine imbrued with its color the individual and the social life of the people. The groups founded upon differences of ethnic origin or of occupation, which existed among the early Aryans, became transformed under the influence of the doctrine of Karma into social groups founded on and determined by birth. Class was changed into caste.

A comparison of the state of society depicted in the earliest Vedic hymns, and that described in the later Vedic books or in the epics composed by the Aryans in the period when they were settled in Madhyadesa, is the measure of the change that had come upon social life and organiza-

<sup>6</sup> Macdonnell: *Ancient India*.

tion. In the early Vedic period the Aryans were a simple pastoral people divided into classes determined by occupation. In the later Vedas and in the epics we find them a highly cultured and sophisticated people divided into castes founded upon a religious philosophy. The Purushasukta of the *Rig Veda*, accepted by modern scholars to be the product of the latest Vedic period, has been called the "Magna Carta of the Caste System."

#### 15. CASTE SYSTEM DEVELOPED OUT OF KARMA

This doctrine of Karma soon became a fundamental belief of the Hindus of history. As such it has influenced their social organization. The smallness in size of the primitive Dravidian social groups, their tendency to division and subdivision, and the rule that membership of each such group was determined by birth — the two characteristic features of the caste system as it has operated in history — were stamped forever on the system by Karma.

The caste system was neither of Aryan nor of Dravidian origin. It is not a Dravidian institution, as one historian of Dravidian culture alleges it to be.<sup>7</sup> We find no trace of its existence among the present nonhinduized Dravidian tribes. The rigid divisions of the orthodox caste system have not always been observed even in historic times among the Dravidian peoples, as is witnessed by the Tamil saying: "The Kallan became a Maravan, the Maravan became an Agamudayan, who little by little became a Vellalan." The four castes of Aryan India never existed among the Tamils. Besides the priests there were more than four castes, mainly tribes converted into castes by the operation of Karma. The eight social grades that exist among the Rangkol and the Bete of the Kukei tribes of Assam look like castes<sup>8</sup> but there is the all-important difference that

<sup>7</sup> Slater: *The Dravidian Culture*.

<sup>8</sup> Baines: *Ethnography of Indian Castes and Tribes*.

they intermarry with each other and other tribes. Only exogamous groups and clans for the most part exist among the Mundas, the Oraons, the Santals of the central provinces, and the Kukeis and Lushais of Assam, and they may be presumed to have existed among their ancient forebears.

The caste system was not invented by the Dravidians. What happened was that the Aryans, adopting the Dravidian belief in transmigration as their philosophy of life, metamorphosed class into caste. It was the acceptance of this religious belief that effected the tremendous social revolution which took place some time between the end of the settlement of the Aryans in the Punjab and their settlement in the Madhyadesa. The doctrine that men are reincarnated in subsequent births and that souls migrated from body to body came as a revelation to the priests and philosophers of the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods. For here was a doctrine which could be made to explain, to a degree of satisfaction, welcome to those ancient speculators, the problem of the existence of evil, suffering, and punishment.

The doctrine of Karma was a popular doctrine from the beginning, because it was built on the religious traditions and beliefs of the common people. It influenced the life of the individual, the family, and society. It took hold of the class and group of the Aryans and the Dravidians and gave it the image and likeness of caste. Social divisions, before the doctrine of Karma gave them a philosophical and religious sanction, were built upon differences of origin, occupation, or office. If they had been left to themselves they would have become fluid and interchangeable as in the rest of the world. But the doctrine of Karma made them rigid and unchangeable. Men were born in a caste because of their deeds in a past birth. They must therefore work out their Karma in the caste in which they are

born. To do otherwise, to change one's caste, is to fly in the face of the laws of nature and of God.

Armed with this institution the ancient Hindus set out on their travels in history. It gave them a stable social organization. It gave them moral and social discipline. The morality of caste is not the highest kind of morality, for according to its idea there is not one universal ideal of perfection to be aimed at by men of every social rank or class, but there was a different code for each caste. As Krishna advised Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, the doing of the duty of one's caste is the whole duty of man. The story of Rama killing a Chandala for ascetic performances, "on account of a good action which thou art not allowed to do," is in accordance with the ideal of Karma. Caste morality is not of the highest, but it did train and discipline the peoples of ancient India into a social life of peace and order. It made of the Hindu peasant and cultivator one of the hardest workers known to history.

## 16. EFFECTS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

Nor was it altogether inimical to progress. It seized one of the elements of progress, specialization in work, and ran it for all it was worth. Hereditary occupation led to a certain high level of excellence by ensuring a hereditary succession of ability. The artistic excellence of the art and craftwork of India like that of the weaver, the potter, the carpenter, and the goldsmith is due to the hereditary occupation which caste ensures. The memory and subtlety of the Brahmins, the chivalry of the Rajput, the devotion to work of the peasant and the artisan, the shopkeeping virtues of the Bania are all due to the influence of caste.

Some political progress was also achieved under caste. It took up racial and linguistic divisions, as that between Aryans and Dravidians, and gave them the less dividing

line of social ranks and classes dependent upon occupation. It also served the cause of liberty within each caste, for there was nothing to prevent a man from rising to the highest position in his caste.

The vice of the system, however, was that it was based upon birth and the worth of past lives and not upon the personality of the individual or the worth of his present life. It gave too much weight to the supposed past and too little to the present life of man to serve the ends of progress. It was a principle of restraint, not of liberty. It emphasized the importance of the class and the group, and underestimated the rights of the individual. All the social work that it did for India led India only half way. The excellence in arts and crafts has been stationary. Caste ran specialization to death. In intellectual life, despite the philosophic heights reached by the Vedas and the Upanishads, it has produced, according to a German scholar, stagnation, narrow-mindedness, and pride toward the world outside.<sup>9</sup> Its moral and social discipline led the individual into grooves of conduct which no doubt secured a certain average of morality. But railed morality, like that of caste, can never lead to the freedom which is the condition of moral perfection. It is significant that the sannyasins and rishis of India all went out of caste and broke most of its commands before they attained to the height of what is termed their holiness.

The political unity that caste allowed was halting, partial, and emasculated. It never was able to embrace the whole of the country. The injunction of the *Atharva Veda*, "The rede is common, common the assembly, common the law," was never realized beyond the range of the caste or the village. On more than one occasion caste sold the pass of Hinduism during the wars of Hindu kingdoms against the Moslems and the European powers. The progress it

<sup>9</sup> Burkhardt: *Reflections on History*.

ensured was only up to a certain point. The liberty it tolerated was liberty to do the work of the caste and did not serve the highest purpose either of the individual or of society. It proceeded on the false assumption that man's birth settled for him his brain power, his moral capacity, and his contribution to social life, whereas liberty and progress require that the individual should be capable of realizing his personality in whatever walk of life his native and acquired qualities may entitle him to choose. Caste denies the possibility of an education which can bring out the best of the individual. And that is the death warrant it issued to Hindu society.

By the side of the good work in the way of social discipline and consolidation that caste did for the aboriginal tribes, whom the Aryans incorporated into Hindu society, the debit side of the balance sheet must be remembered. Many good customs of the Dravidians the tribes were made to renounce when they entered the charmed circle of caste. Widow marriage was thrown overboard. Exogamy was displaced by endogamy, as among the brahminized tribes of the Mundas and Oraons of the central belt. Late adult marriages gave way to child marriages as among the brahminized Santals of today. A varied and generous diet is being replaced by a Brahmin diet among some of the Kukei tribes in Assam. This process of hinduization, which contemporary observers have noticed among the Mongoloid Manipuris and the tribes of Chota Nagpur, must have taken place on a large scale and frequently in ancient times.

Equipped with the institution of caste the ancient Hindus, made up of the Aryans and Dravidians, proceeded to the political organization of India. They started on the lines set out for them by the Dravidian peoples whom they dispossessed, and who already were divided by their social organization into small, petty groups remote from and unrelated to each other. These small, petty groups of

the conquered did not call for more than small, petty states instituted by the conquerors. It was probably this that was the cause of "the development of a parochial separation" rather than, as Baines thinks, "the presence of large bodies of alien helots"<sup>10</sup> for which we have evidence neither from history nor from contemporary savagery. They began with small, petty states.

In fact caste proved itself to be in every way inimical to the later development of large states. The army of a state founded on caste has necessarily to be small, for only hereditary warriors can form it. Increase in the army must be natural, due to the excess of births over deaths in the caste of warriors. It could not be artificially increased by recruitment from all and sundry in obedience to the periodical demands of the state.

The needs of actuality did provide for an increase in the ancient Indian army by the custom of the freedom of the caste of warriors being conferred on tribes who had not yet been brought within the rule of the caste system. Thus many Rajput clans have been recruited even down to modern times from surrounding aboriginal tribes. But this artificial progress was necessarily slow, as it could be resorted to only at intervals and the supply would be very soon exhausted. The source of potential military recruitment from the large numbers of people in all castes who might be unfit for the occupation imposed on them by their birth, but might be made fit for soldiering, was never tapped. Nor is caste, with its marriage inhibitions, as favorable to an increase of population as is the law of free marriages. This is proved by the fact that at the present moment the rate of increase of population among Mussulmans and Christians in India is much higher than among caste Hindus.

With the armies and the population that caste supplied, no great expansion of states could be set on foot in ancient

<sup>10</sup> *Ethnography of Castes and Tribes.*

India. The rule at the beginning of Indian history, as at the end of the Hindu period, was of small, petty states. When the Aryans entered the Punjab, the Saptasindhavah of the Vedas, they consisted of small tribes organized on a patriarchal system ruled by chiefs sometimes hereditary, sometimes elected, but soon to be converted into hereditary monarchs. So, too, in the Punjab ancient Indian history reveals the existence of a number of small tribes: the Purus and the Chedis, the Abhisaras and the Gandaras, the Malavas or Malloi of the Greek writers whom Alexander many centuries later defeated in battle, the Lichavis and other tribal republics spoken of in the Buddhist records, or finally the Adityas, the Viswa Devas, and the Devas spoken of in the *Atharva Veda*.

The conquering march of the Aryans toward the east when they entered the Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna, the Kuru Panchala country, founded the Aryavarta of the law books, and passed on farther down in the south as related in the *Ramayana*, was speeded up by their power of incorporating the alien Dravidians into their society. As a Hindu historian points out,<sup>11</sup> the caste system had not at that time become so rigid as to prevent Aryan Brahmins from taking Sudra wives and still remaining Brahmins, and men and women of the Sudra castes from being allowed to take part in the most solemn sacrifices of the Aryans. But this incorporation with the Dravidian tribes did not lead to the formation of any larger states than those which they had attempted in the Punjab. The Kauravas who ruled over Indraprastha, the Panchalas who held sway over the country round about Kanauj, the Videhas who established themselves between the Gumti and the Kosi, the Kosalas who dwelled between the Ganges and the Gumti, the Kasis near Benares, were all founders and rulers of small, petty states. In Madhyadesa also there were the

<sup>11</sup> Shama Sastri: *Evolution of Indian Polity*.



states of Ayodhya and Pataliputra. And as the ancient Hindus advanced eastward, filling the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, and then southward and southeastward, states of the same petty size were the order of the day.

Although the caste system had such injurious effects on the political development of India it filled the greater part of the social life of the people. The life of the individual, his life in the family, his life in public was governed by the rules of his caste. In fact the Hindu state made very few laws. Neither monarchs like the Anglo-Saxon or Norman kings, nor assemblies like the Parliament or Cortes of Europe existed in ancient India. Their law was custom — the custom of the caste, or *Varnashrama Dharma*.

Social life was more to them than political life. Ancient Indian literature, whether of the Aryans like the Vedas, the epics, and the dramas, or of the Dravidians like the Tamil Sangham classics, yields more information about social life and culture than about the political life of the ancient Hindus. Besides the collection of taxes there was no other impact on the individual citizen of government or state. The village, its lands, its life, its assembly, its administration, its problems were all in all to him. A provincial governor, or still more a central government, was a vague shade that moved about in the far distance which he heard of rather than saw.

The ancient Hindu state was a state of villages. Towns were few and far between. In all northern India in Harsha's time (ninth century A.D.) there were only twenty-five towns. The assemblies of Vedic and Buddhist periods, the Sabhas, the Sanghas, the Parishads, and Mahaparishads, although they served together with religion and the priesthood to limit the power of the king, did nothing to articulate and organize the connection between the village and the capital of the state. The Sabhas and Sanghas were hardly representative assemblies.

There was always a hiatus between the village and the central government, between the center and the circumference of the state. Even feudalism did not fill in this hiatus. It could not perform in this country the great service it rendered in the articulation of the state in Europe. Feudalism in India was crossed and neutralized by caste. What was real, substantial, near, and insistent was the social system to which the people belonged and the social organization by which most of their life was governed. Society was more to the ancient Hindus than the state.

And this is the great contribution of ancient India to political thought and practice. It has emphasized perhaps to the point of exaggeration the importance of society in the making of man. It keeps one goodly part of man's life free from the dominance of the state. It makes the autonomous and free life of groups possible. India has been, thanks to caste, free from the confusion between state and society which was possible in Greece and Rome. Caste therefore did for India what Christianity did for Europe — it kept society distinct from the state. And that may go some way to soften the sentence of condemnation that history must pass on it for the wrongs and woes it has inflicted on India.

### III. RELIGION AND CULTURE

#### 17. EARLY DRAVIDIAN AND ARYAN RELIGIONS

NEXT to caste and the society which it made, religion filled the largest place in the history of the individual, as of society, in ancient India. Whether among the native Dravidians or among the immigrant Aryans, religion as among most primitive peoples exerted decisive influence on their individual and social life.

Among the primitive Dravidians it appeared in the form of *animism* or *shamanism*, in which beings of another world influenced their lives. No distinction was observed between religious and secular life. Among many of these natives in the north nature worship prevailed — worship of the sun, the moon, the planets, especially the planet on which they lived and to which they owed their life — the earth, regarded by them in the form of *Matrubhumi* — Mother Earth. Sacrifice was the means by which they tried to please and draw blessings from the spirits, good and evil, in which they believed. Priests, known as Baigas in central India, are the intermediaries between the spirits of the other world and the men and women of this world. These spirits were soon transformed into beings with a personality and were worshiped as the *grama-devata*, village gods in village shrines. Taboos and totems influenced their lives.

It was into this atmosphere of animism and shamanism, modified by nature worship, that the Aryans from outside were soon absorbed. Even today the strength of this primitivism is felt in some popular forms, like the Kali cult of Calcutta with its daily sacrifice of hundreds of goats and sheep.

The early inhabitants had come to India with a baggage of beliefs in different forces of nature, and they worshiped them. Their gods were nature gods. The highest among them was Indra, the god of heaven's light, the god of the blue sky and thunder and lightning — of that light of the normal day lit by the sun, or of the normal night lit by the stars, or of the extraordinary light that flashed across the sky as a premonition of help from heaven. Indra was also the god of battle that helped the Aryans in their struggles against the native Dravidians. Varuna was the god of the sky that sends the fertilizing rain to the earth. Fire was as necessary as water to those that ventured into the untrodden forests of India, and so Agni was one of the most gratefully remembered gods of the Aryans. He was called the first rishi, the first sacrificial priest, the guardian of the home (*Grihaspati*) and of the community (*Vispati*).

Nor were the other forces of nature absent from the Aryan pantheon — in particular the sun to whom the hymn *Gayatri* has been sung from that day to this by the Brahmins of India. The dawn which means so much to a people caught in the *selva oscura* of a primitive night was worshiped under the pretty name of Ushas, daughter of heaven and of the sun who, old yet ever young, rides the sky in his chariot of red oxen, opening a new day to a sleepy world. Lesser gods of light were the two *Asvins* who accompanied the sun on his journey, made the hours of the morning, noon, and evening sacrifices, and guided seafaring ships to a safe haven. Vayu and the Maruts were the gods of wind. Among the stars were Arundhati and Rohini.

In the earliest stages, this belief in and worship of the forces of nature had little spiritual or ethical significance or influence. The sacrifice of the Soma was only a social libation to the gods — a sort of toast drunk to them. It is with the emergence of *Brihaspati*, the god of prayer, that the spiritual dependence of the Aryans upon his gods may

be said to have begun. Nor were the Aryan gods arranged in any hierarchical order. The idea of a supreme god did not emerge till the time of the epics and the law books where Indra is recognized as the king of the gods dwelling in *Swarga*, or heaven. But even he is not the supreme god of the universe, only of one world, the eastern, the other worlds being ruled by other supreme gods. Death which introduces us to the other world and gives a seriousness to life in this world gets a god into prominence in the post-Vedic world in the form of *Yama*, who in the Vedas was only the first of the men that died, and later became ruler of the dead in the other world and their judge and executioner.

The search after the first cause, a glimpse of which attracts us in one of the latest hymns of the *Rig Veda*, led to the conclusion that "there was neither being nor non-being, no world, no air, no death, no immortality, no distinction between day and night; darkness was over all, and all was in darkness." Out of this nothing and darkness, we are told, the world was lifted by love, *Kama*, which was the first creative force that the wise recognize through looking into their hearts and thus discern in nonbeing the bonds of being. And so the post-Vedic sages arrive at the knowledge of the highest, undefined, universal, the self-sufficient *Brahma*.

#### 18. MAYA = "THE WORLD IS AN ILLUSION"

It looked, then, as if the religion of India were developing into belief in one single supreme being, the creator of the universe — into theism. But the Aryans were turned from that road by two events.

The *first* was contact with the beliefs of the Dravidians. Many of these tribes believed, as we have already seen, in the transmigration of souls. Many of them believed in a world of spirits influencing this world of matter and inter-

mingled with it. The Aryan was confronted by belief in the variety and multitudinousness of being.

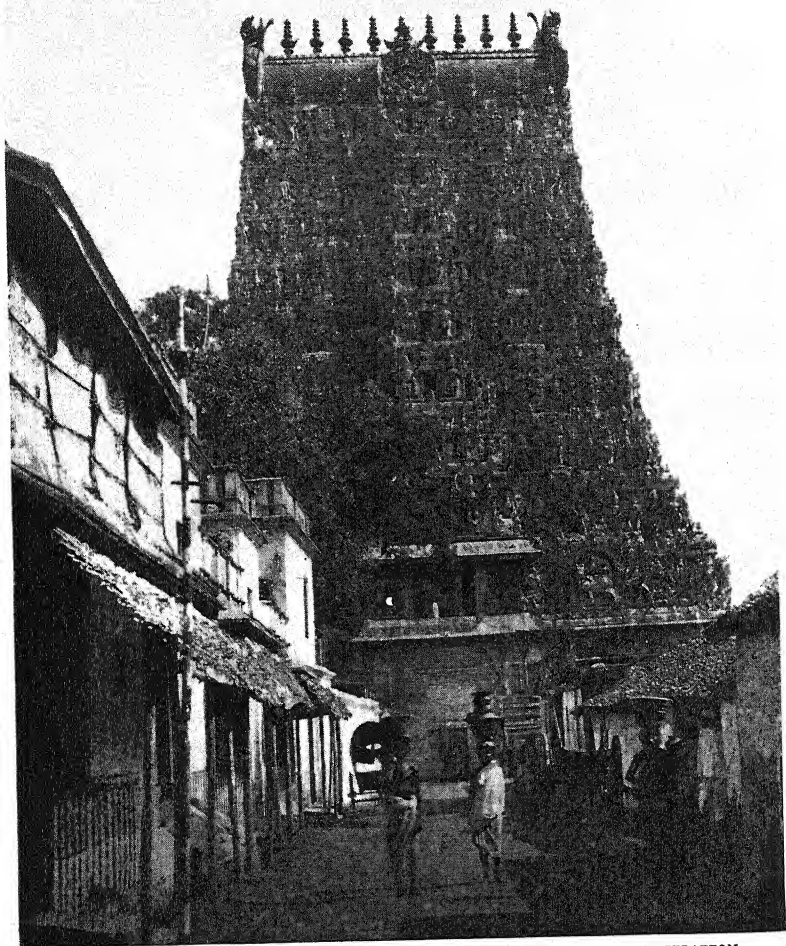
Coming from the thin air of the hills of Kabulistan and the simple, straightforward plains of the Punjab, he was stepping into the rich, varied, thick, overwhelming, vegetative forest life of the valleys of Madhyadesa. This was the *second* cause of the change. It was there, in Madhyadesa, that the definitive philosophy of life of the Hindus was formulated. Later it was developed by the solitary rishis of the mountains and forests of central, northern, and southern India.

The Hindu philosophy of life was a forest philosophy.<sup>12</sup> It was influenced and determined by the thick, confused, and mixed growth of vegetation in an Indian forest. The confusion of tree with creepers, of roots with branch, of trunk with undergrowth which bewilders one in an Indian forest must have suggested to the solitary thinker the philosophy that confounds cause with effect, origin with end, God in all and all in God. Bamboo scraping *sal* or teak, creeper entwining the tree trunk, grass-smothering roots, one tree locked with another or growing out of another — all these seem to be murmuring to each other *Tat twam asi*, "Thou art that." Aryan polytheism, which might have developed into theism, was thus diverted to pantheism.

Nature, therefore, divides with religion and philosophy the claim to providing the theme of the great epics and dramas of Hindu India. A large part of the popular Hinduism, as revealed for instance in the dance ritual of *Krishna* and the *Gopis*, now given a mystic interpretation, is the cult of nature and the natural.

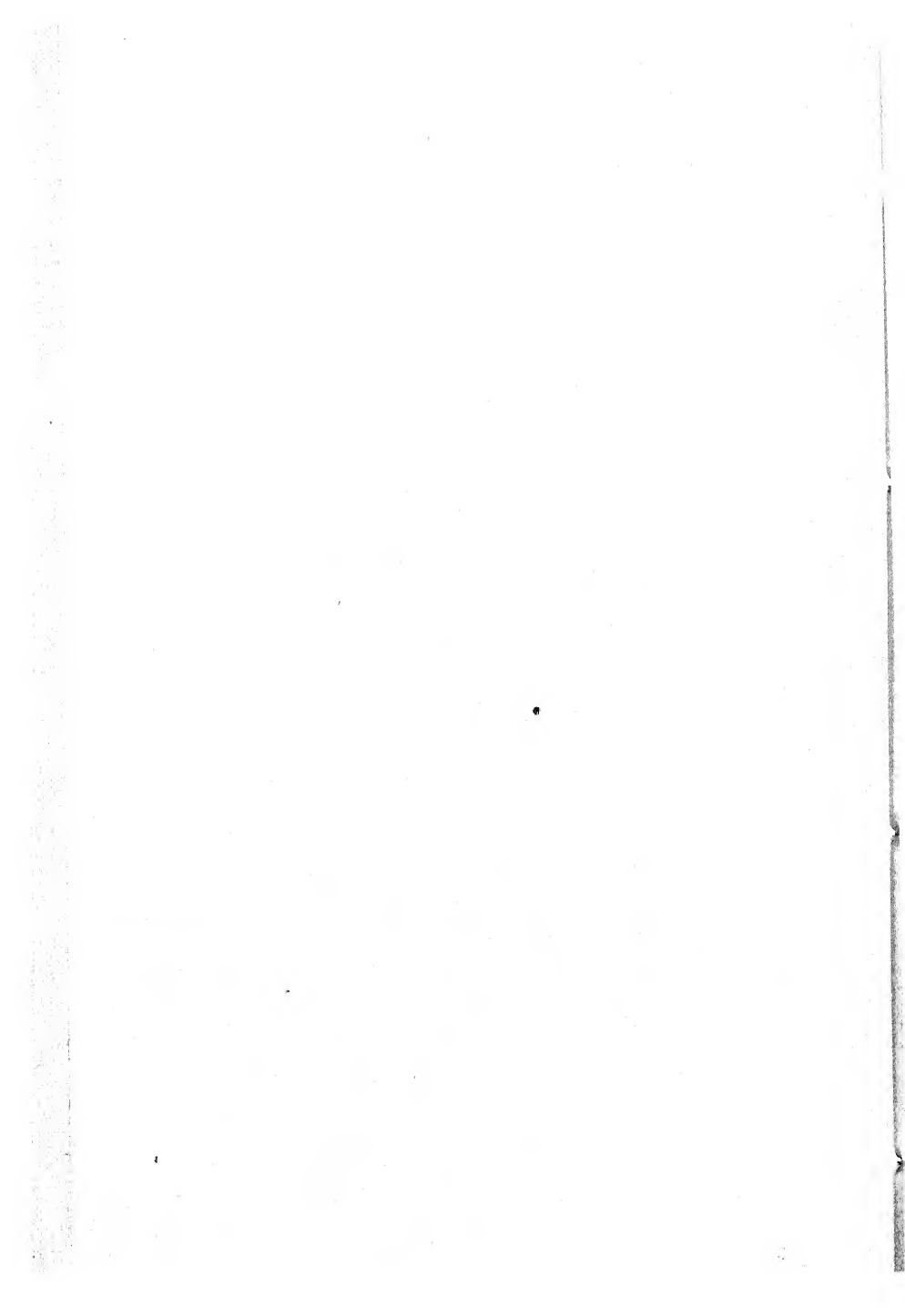
And the Hindu philosopher, either struggling against the overwhelming forest world around him, or else (if he lived and thought in the world outside, in the world of

<sup>12</sup> Tagore: *The Religion of the Forest*.



UNDERWOOD-STRATTON

A gopuram or tower of the temple, Madura.





cities and men) fighting against the futilities and failures of the petty social world of caste and the petty political world of the small state, looked into his own soul for the key to truth and was tempted to deny the reality of all else around and outside him. He was influenced by the natural and social circumstance of ancient India to invent the doctrine of Maya.

Most western philosophers interpret Maya as merely meaning "illusion" — nonexistence, implying that the world is mere illusion, mere nothing. In the highest Hindu philosophical teaching, i.e., that of Sankara and Ramanuja, the world is illusion, mere nothing, in a relative sense as compared to God who is the only existence. In order to vindicate the absoluteness of the god of spirit these leading Hindu philosophers thought it necessary to deny the reality of matter. But whether in the absolute or in the relative sense, Maya came to give the common people a conviction that this world was an illusion, unreal, a vanity, a thing that must be treated as of no value, or a vision to be turned away from for concentration on the one true vision, the vision of God according to the Hindu concept.

Sylvan Levi's statement, that the "fundamental belief which supports the whole edifice of Hindu thought is that before all there is the transcendental unreality of the world of phenomenon," is true and justifiable. The most common explanation of the woes and miseries of the world heard from the lips of the common people in Hindu India is "what else can you expect in this *maya-prapanjam* — this world of illusion."

From the profession and cult of Maya has come the whole attitude of the Hindu to this life and this world. If this world and life are Maya — not in the sense intended by Solomon's saying, "Vanity of vanities and all is vanity," but because both are considered to be a mere illusion — is then this world worth worrying about? Is it worth writing

about? Is the history of this world of illusion worth writing? Here is another explanation for the paucity of historical literature in Hindu India.

But this attitude has had more penetrating philosophical effects. The doctrine of Maya, although it has raised the Hindu to a height of detachment and made him other-worldly, and, in this sense, outwardly served the cause of his moral progress, has on the other hand made him look upon renunciation and flight, not battle and conquest, as the better way of dealing with the difficulties and problems of social life. It has made the Hindu give the minimum to society and especially to the state. It has allowed political life and the state just to survive. It has not encouraged and fostered the development and perfection of the life of the state.

#### 19. KARMA = THE DOCTRINE OF REBIRTHS

A third constituent element in the philosophical and religious dogma of the ancient Hindus was the doctrine of Karma about whose origins I have already speculated, in the section on "Society Rather Than State in India." It is the doctrine of man's supposedly successive rebirths, his actions in the present life determining his fate in his future life on earth. Whatever the origins of this doctrine, it is the fundamental religious belief of the Hindu. This fact cannot be gainsaid. No explanation of life's problems or difficulties comes more frequently or more readily to a Hindu's lips than to say "It is one's Karma." It has therefore been rightly called "the central tenet of the Hindu faith."

Karma has influenced the whole social and public life of the Hindus. It has made caste the unbreakable mold of Hindu society. To preserve things as they are must be the first duty of the individual, of leaders, or of their followers. Karma has sterilized custom into immovability and made it a bar to social and legal progress. What De Maistre said

of the Greek Orthodox Church holds good of Hindu society under caste. Under the influence of Karma, it holds together only because it is frozen solid.

No one can deny to the doctrine of Karma all moral or philosophical value. It has given India its answer, however delusive, to the various questions asked throughout the history of mankind in regard to the subsistence of evil, of suffering, and of punishment. It has served to preserve in its way a high level of morality among the people of India. It gives a certain dignity and purpose to human life. It is the Indian version of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

That it has not served the highest ends of morality, for it denies the rights and liberties of human personality, is its condemnation. But it is an explanation of Indian life and history that must interest and satisfy the historian of India. No history of India would be complete without an account of the doctrine and of its pragmatic influence. And the historian of religion will recognize that, with its doctrines of an absolute god (so absolute that he absorbs man and nature), of Karma and of Maya, Hinduism is the least objectionable adventure in the purely pagan religious quest of man, as apart from divine Revelation.

## 20. A THOUSAND YEARS OF BUDDHISM

The hold of these ideas of Vedantic monism, of Maya and of Karma, is proved by the fact that the great pagan reform movements in religion have not undermined them. The religious life of India has not been revolutionized by any such agitations. The first of these religious movements away from Hinduism was Buddhism which operated in India from about 450 B.C. to A.D. 550, a period of a thousand years. It was founded by a scion of a Kshatriya clan in Bihar, Prince Siddharta.

The historian must acknowledge that Buddhism at all

events suffused Indian life and thought with a new spirit. It taught kings and people to love peace and toleration. It preached equality between classes and persons and benevolence and beneficence to all. It denounced the inequalities and tyrannies of caste. It substituted individual and personal morality, determined by conscience, for the institutional morality of the customs and practices of caste. It substituted the morality of good works for the morality of good birth. It threw open the doors of its monastic life to the lowly as to the high born. It was founded by a personality, and a new note of personality enters into Indian history. Indian kings and rulers came out of the penumbra in which they were hidden in Madhyadesa.

The state obtained a new impulse from Buddhism. It strengthened the spirit and institutions of self-government. It softened the attitude of rulers to the ruled and modified the cruelties and partialities of the Code of Manu. However, Buddhist states now were larger and aimed at empire. The making of conversion for the new faith had become a motive for extension of the Buddhist empire.

The note of personality which Buddhism introduced, forced its way into other forms of life than the political. Indian art dates its beginnings from the Buddhist period. Sculpture, unknown before, enters the field of art with Buddhism. The famous Ajanta fresco paintings of men and women, kings and common people, were due to Buddhist influence. Architecture under this same influence became simple, more dignified, less dominated by ornament and decoration, less loaded with figures of phantasy and myth than the typical Hindu architecture. But the cave temples of Ellora, Ajanta, Elephanta, and others show how it was through the temple that the Buddhists, like the Jains and the Brahmins after them, as also the forest rishi and sannyasin and monk, tried to civilize the remote, forest-clad, mountain-hid parts of India.

Social and political life which Buddhism enriched with one hand by promoting social and political unity, it tried to impoverish on the other by looking upon it, as it did upon any other kind of human desire, as something which must, by man's effort, be snuffed out of existence. Its theory and practice of renunciation did not make the people more practical than they had been under Brahminism. In fact the danger of the flight from life was the greater under Buddhism because it offered the ideal of Nirvana to all and sundry, and did not confine it to a select few or to the many in the evening of their lives as did Brahminism. The extinction of desire and not the controlling and canalizing of desire was the ideal of Buddhism. The problem of life was to be solved by an escape from life.

It was a reform movement against Hinduism but it was no revolutionary attack on it. Many of the ethical principles of Hindu philosophy and religion it retained, modifying one here and intensifying another there. It modified the pantheism of the Hindu philosophy of the Vedanta by indicating the rights of human personality, but did nothing to turn people away from its paralyzing effects. On the other hand, it gave the doctrine of Maya a special emphasis. The doctrine of Karma it accepted, although its implacability was softened by the inculcation of piety, kindness, and pity.

It preached against the inequalities of the institution of caste. It admitted people of the lower castes into its monasteries, as shown in the beautiful story of Matangi the Pariah girl sculptured in one of the Gandhara pieces.<sup>13</sup> Ananda, the monk, came to a well from which Matangi was drawing water and asked for a drink. Matangi drew back and exclaimed, "Don't you know I am a Pariah?" Ananda rejoined, "I did not ask you who or what you were. I asked you for a drink of water. If you are inclined to give it, give it." She gave him the water to drink and for reward

<sup>13</sup> To be found in the Lahore museum.

was admitted into a Buddhist nunnery. But Buddhism did nothing to undermine the doctrine on which caste was based.

The fact is that Buddhism was not so much a reform of Hinduism as an improvement of it. That it possessed qualities of moral excellence cannot be denied. As a means to moral progress it freed its devotees from the tyranny of desire. Its influence was in the direction of gentleness, humanity, and peace. It has not been in the direction of social organization or political progress. Its influence was more personal than institutional. It has done more for man than for society or the state. Consulted about the destiny of the Vajjians, Buddha said: "So long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with their ancient institutions as established in former days . . . so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."<sup>14</sup> This advice of the founder sums up the social and political influence of Buddhism in India.

## 21. JAINISM, COEVAL WITH BUDDHISM

Similar to the influence of Buddhism has been that of Jainism. Like Buddhism it was founded by a scion of the Kshatriya caste, by name, Vardhamana, known in religion as Mahavira, and came into being in the middle of the sixth century B.C., about the same time as Buddhism and in the country in which Buddha himself was born. Breaking himself loose from the Vedas he attained the position of a Jain, or one who is victorious by a course of asceticism. He became the founder of monastic communities which, to show their victory over matter, renounced all temporalities including clothes. Like Buddhism it preached asceticism and renunciation to the exaggerated extent of nudism, although it never called upon people to escape from the

<sup>14</sup> *Dialogues of Buddha*, quoted in Jayasval's *Hindu Polity*.

world and its joys and pleasures. Against the animal sacrifices of ancient Hinduism it preached an exaggerated tenderness toward animal life. It preached pacifism.

Commencing its career in the north, Jainism has found a permanent home in both the west and the south. Its doctrine of peace at any material price has commended itself to the merchant class who have spread it in central and southern India. Its tenets have exercised great influence on the ideas of poets of the Tamil country, like Tiruvalluvar, the poet of the Kural, and Manikkavasagar, the religious lyricist of the *Tiruvasagam*. But like Buddhism it did not challenge the fundamental tenets of Hinduism. It has stayed on for that very reason. The Brahmins made no effort to eradicate it as they did Buddhism.

The Jains followed the Brahmin tradition in the raising of large and highly decorated temples in honor of their holy men. The Jain has not been so renunciatory of the world and all its pomps as the Buddhist. Not in remote hills and caves but in and amidst the busy haunts of men and cities did the Jains build their temples. Moreover, they built these in groups and not in individual isolation. Parasnath and Pale in the east; Palitana, Mount Abu, and Satrunjaya in the west, are cities of temples. The Jains could also boast of domestic architecture of which the Buddhists were innocent. Towns grew around the temples they built if they did not exist before. The Jains, on a much larger scale than the Buddhists, built hospitals for the poor, even for animals, wells and shady groves for wayfarers. By far and large, Jainism has been a much more human and a much more social religion than Buddhism.

We may ask whether under Hinduism or Buddhism or Jainism religion has ever filled the largest time and space in the life of the people of ancient India. With the Hindus religion was not, as with other peoples, only one among many important intellectual and moral influences in their

lives. Rather it was the most important of all such influences. While caste represented the most important institutional influence among them, their religion was for them the greatest influence in the world of ideas. It still dominates every part of it. Their laws, their society and social life, their culture were molded by it. Their literature was full of it. "The history of religion in India," says Hunter, one of the foremost British historians of the country, "is the history of the people."<sup>15</sup>

## 22. DHARMA = LAW, MORALITY, SOCIETY

The law, morality, and social order of the ancient Hindus was religious not only in origin but in content and sanction. *Dharma* is the significant word used to describe the whole duty of man among the Hindus. It stands for the laws of religion, morality, and social behavior. The Laws of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada, and of the Aryans are important volumes in the collection of the sacred books of the Hindus. These law books, *Smiritis*, as they are called, are considered to be of divine origin. They are regarded as having the sanction of religion, and therefore they are held to be unalterable. However conditions and circumstances may change the law cannot change, because that would be doing violence to religion.

Laws which once served a purpose for a simple, primitive society have now become a drag on the progress of the Hindus. The law of partition of landed property in equal shares among the sons of a Hindu father no doubt helped, as Manu himself urged, the even distribution of landed property in days when land was plentiful and holders were few. But now, when almost all cultivable land is under occupation and population is growing, this law is responsible for the excessive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings in land and constitutes an insuperable bar to agri-

<sup>15</sup> Hunter: *Orissa*, Vol. I.



cultural progress. That law, embedded in the Code of Manu, has acquired all the sanctity of a religious rule, and no political party, no legislature in India dare change it, even though everyone recognizes that such a change is absolutely necessary for the health of Indian agriculture.

The early marriage of Hindu boys and girls has been due to the rule of Hindu religion that a son must be born and ready to hand to set fire to the funeral pyre of his father and thus deliver him from the *put* of hell to which the childless go. Widow marriage is prohibited by Hindu orthodoxy because there are texts in the Hindu scriptures which may be interpreted as condemning it. Marriages between members of different castes are not to be allowed because the confusion of castes according to Manu is the supreme social crime, and the true Hindu king must do all he can to prevent it.

The reformer of Hindu social organization has thus been beset on all sides by the prohibitions and inhibitions of laws which are looked upon as precepts of religion. Thus Hindu law has ever found it difficult to adapt itself to the circumstances and needs of changing times.

As law, so also society. Caste and its divisions have been given a religious origin and flourish under a religious sanction. Family life, marriage, the property of Hindus were sanctified by religion. The family *purohit* (priest) has always been an important factor of Hindu family life. He or other Brahmin priests not only bless the marriage but determine who shall marry whom, when and where the marriage shall take place. The property of Hindus can be inherited only by Hindus according to orthodox Hindu law. Only sons could inherit. *Stridhana* was the only form of property a woman could keep. The will was unknown to ancient Hindu law.

According to Manu the ancient Hindu kings were believed to have been formed of particles of the gods and

therefore they were fire and wind, sun and moon, Yama, Kubera, Varuna, and Indra all in one. Hence we can understand the divinity that hedges around Indian kings, even in the present day. Hence, too, the autocracy of native Indian rule, tempered though it always has been by the influence of the Brahmins, dharma, custom, and the distance and autonomy of the village.

Instead of being a guiding and regulative principle, as among Christian peoples, religion has sought to frame rules and regulations of legal and social organization, and has thus served the cause neither of religion nor of society. Religion has been identified with primitive social forms and organization. And society has acquired all the permanence and rigidity of religion. Religion has thus become the Nessus shirt of Hindu law and society. The only revolutions in India have been, as Hunter has pointed out, religious revolutions, and whatever social progress has been achieved has been through these religious changes.

### 23. LITERATURE, ART, AND ARCHITECTURE

Religion has also dominated Hindu culture. Its literature was sacred scripture and has been made public to the modern world under the appropriate title of the Sacred Books of the Hindus. Their epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, are full of the doings of rishis and gurus. Although professedly recounting the wars and conquests and settlements of kings and peoples, they are replete with discussions on matters of religion, philosophy, and morality. Compared to Homer's *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, or any other national or popular epic of Europe, which speak of the loves and hates of men and women, the warlike and civic activities of kings, soldiers, judges, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* treat of these human affairs only incidentally. And even when they are treated *in extenso*, the religious motif creeps in every now and then. Debates and discus-

sions on religious and philosophical subjects occur at frequent intervals. A whole section of the *Mahabharata* is occupied by the *Bhagavad Gita*, a compendium of Hindu moral philosophy.

The drama of ancient India is also religious in origin and in development. Earthly life and its problems, the clashes of character, the wrestling of strong men with fate were not its theme. The romance of love, the beauties of nature, the worship of God are its subjects. Kalidasa's dramas are beautiful lyrical poetry. But they are hardly drama as Sophocles or Shakespeare has made it. Very little secular literature hails from ancient India. The researches of modern Hindu scholars have constructed theses on the political and social sciences of the ancient Hindus. But they had to dig for them in the mines of religious literature.

Other manifestations of culture have also had the strong influence of religion play on them. The art of India has been surcharged with it. The architecture of Hindu India is temple architecture. It can boast of very few domestic buildings. Few feudal castles, royal palaces, town halls, colleges, or university buildings, such as prick the landscape of European countries, meet the eye of the Rambler in Hindu India. All the money and artistic impulse that the ancient Hindus had at their command they put into the building of their temples.

The excessive decoration and ornamentation, the tier upon tier of gods and goddesses that they pressed on the gopuras (entrance towers) and the vimanas (sanctum sanctorum), on the walls and pillars of these temples, were the very fantasia of religion. Its popular polytheism (the number of its gods runs to hundreds) and its aristocratic pantheism with its mixing up of cause and effect, of the Atman and the Brahmin, of the universe and self, are all represented in the architecture and sculpture of the Hindu temple. The colossal size of the temples, the mixture of man

and animal in the sculptured figures, the welter of ornamental flora, and the confusion between the human and the divine, between sense and spirit, are characteristic of Hindu art. Much of this fantasia must be attributed to the overwhelming domination of nature in ancient India. The frequency of forest, the density of its woods, the lushness of its vegetation must be held partly accountable for the luxuriant fancy that overwhelms the temples of India.

Some influence must also be attributed to the inability of primitive art to keep the arts of architecture and painting separate. Form is the expression of architecture and color the expression of painting. The Hindus for some material reason, probably because accessories of painting were not readily available, or for the historical reason that they had not reached the point when art begins to specialize, used the rules and methods of painting in their architecture. That is the explanation of a learned scholar<sup>16</sup> for some of the peculiarities of Hindu architecture. Hence the hundreds and thousands of sculptured figures on their temple structures. Only the dominance of the religious *motif* can account for the bewildering number and frequency of religious symbols both in the architecture and sculpture of Hindu temples. It strikingly illustrates the power of an Idea in defeating the rules of both Nature and Art, as instanced in the numerous heads and hands of certain gods and goddesses. It is a gallant but inartistic attempt, as in the dancing Nataraja of Lakshmi, the goddess of the arts, to put all the attributes of a deity into one single figure.

Whatever the differences between the different styles of architecture, the northern Aryan or the southern Dravidian, the one distinguishing feature is always the central tower over the vimana or over the mantapam. This, in the north, is a square rectangular structure rising to the top in steps and topped by a circular dome. In the south, or Dra-

<sup>16</sup> Dahlmann: *Indische Fahrten*, 2 vols.

vidian section, it is a pyramidal structure mounting rapidly in story after story, and finally covered by a long semi-circular decorated roof, the structure being overwhelmed with ornaments. Under Buddhist and Jain influence the wealth of ornamentation and sculpture becomes reduced and restrained. But among Buddhists, and the Jains as well, it is temple architecture that dominates. The only deviation made by Buddhism in this trend was the addition of monastic buildings and monuments in the form of stupas and Chaityas, while the change constituted by the Jains was to add some examples of domestic architecture. But, in the main, Hindu architecture is religious architecture. If as Sir Christopher Wren said, "Architecture establishes a nation," Hindu architecture has established the Hindus as a religious people.

The music of India also had a religious origin and still bears a religious impress. Both vocal and instrumental music — apart from the music of the folk songs which still persists among the hill tribes and the common people of the villages of India — originated in the temples of India and still continue their traditional course in these precincts. Like most religious music, the Gregorian, for instance, it is homophonic, simple melody sung by a single voice. The dance in India, too, had its stage in the temple. It was and remains part of the ritual of worship in the temple. The well-known Radha-Krishna dance sequence, which probably began as a pastoral dance expressing the love passages of the cowherd Krishna with the Gopis or shepherd girls, is now interpreted under the dominant intellectual influence of India as the mystical approach of the soul to the supreme lover.

#### 24. THE RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS

Following the course of ancient Indian history in what has been called the Hindu period, we find that society,

religion, and culture have played a larger part than the state. Of the three powers — state, religion, and culture — which according to Burkhardt form the theme of history, religion and culture fill much the larger part of ancient Indian history. The political history of the Hindu period may be written out in a page or two, and only a few variations are here to be recorded. Nor is there a history of civilization (according to its definition and that of history), for civilization has to deal with the customs and institutions that produce a refined social life and manner. It is produced by and in cities, and, in ancient India, cities were scarce.

The religious emphasis in the Hindu's life imbued him with a Manichæan contempt for creature comforts, which came to be strengthened by the asceticism of Buddhism. The primitive simplicity of the Hindu's food, clothes, house and home life, furniture, city and social life — even his travels being pilgrim travels from one celebrated temple to another — his indifference to good living and sanitation, are all due to this neglect of civilization. Fear of breaking this or that social rule prescribed as a religious precept has kept the Hindu from adopting the amenities of civilization. As Burkhardt put it, "The sanctification of the conveniences of life has a fateful aspect," as observed under the Hindu religion.

And this lag of civilization has hurt the political development of India. Hindustan, in spite of its common dharma and culture, did not attain political unity because, as Sylvan Levi points out, it lacked "that hierarchy of functions which a developed civilization could have given it." Culture has pushed civilization into the background in Hindu India. And the history of ancient India is the history of culture and religion, rather than of civilization and the state.

This religious emphasis was revealed also in the splendid efflorescence of colonial settlement and expansion which

has made the spacious days of "Greater India" one of the most glorious chapters in her history. The cause of the maritime adventures that ended in colonization and conquest of vast spaces in the countries of the Far East is wrapped in mystery, for the evidence as usual is wanting. But it must have been a compelling cause that overcame the prohibitions against seafaring in the Sacred Books.

It was probably the cause of religion, either religious persecution of Hindus by Buddhists or Buddhists by Brahmins, for it is in the post-Buddhist period that this maritime expansion occurred. Or it may have been the missionary drive to propagate Buddhism that took these adventurers abroad. The analogy of the missionary enterprise led by the emperor Asoka's own son Mahendra, that introduced Indian colonization and settlement in Ceylon, is suggestive. Probably, too, it may have been commercial enterprise, for which the Dravidian peoples have always been noted, that took them overseas. The prohibition against sea travel, which came so natural to landlubbers like the Aryans in those centuries-long journeyings from central Asia to and across the continent of India, sat lightly upon the Dravidian peoples of the east coast, who from that day to this have played the predominant part in Indian expansion to the east.

Whatever the cause and whenever the time — it was most probably in the first to seventh centuries A.D. — ancient Indian civilization and culture built another home across the seas in the east. Pegu and Arakan, forming the modern Burma, Java, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and Indo-China were the chief countries of these Indian settlements. Commerce was the motive of the settlements in ancient Burma — Prome and Pagan being the chief centers of Indian trade. No Hindu state was founded in ancient Burma. But in no country of the east was the then-predominant religion of India, Buddhism, so far reaching and profound in its influence as it was on the people of ancient Pegu and Arakan.

While in China Buddhism came to be mixed up and compromised with ancestor worship and Confucianism, and in Japan with Shintoism, in ancient Burma Buddhism reigned in full sway. Buddha has ever been the sole object of Burman piety and the Buddhist monastery has ever been its greatest spiritual force and organization.

In Siam, the land of the ancient Thais, also, it was not settlers from India that made the state, but the religion and culture, that made these people, were brought from India. At first the influence was Hindu, the Sacred Book of the Brahmins, the knowledge of which was brought by Indian settlers to the banks of the Mekong, forming their ideas of society, government, and culture. Sanskrit inscriptions in the Devanagari characters are found all over the country. Later, Siam came under the influence of Buddhism. The Buddhist sacred language, Pali, influenced the development of the native language of the Thais. The Buddhist monastery was the center of culture. It was the Buddhist bonze, exercising his influence through the village school where the boys were brought up as Buddhist novices, who fixed the hold of Buddhism on this people. Nowhere has the village school been used on such a large scale and to such effect as in Siam and Burma, to bring up a whole people in the religion of their fathers. Sons of rich and poor, of peasant and prince, have had to go through this system of religious education.

In the island of Java again Hinduism played upon the culture and civilization of another eastern people belonging to the Malayan stock. Their spiritual formation they owe to Hindu colonizers. These must have arrived long before the eighth century A.D., which is the date of the first inscriptions discovered about them. By that time, namely, Hindu culture had long been in flower and fruit. Indian evidence, as usual, there is none. It is only from geographers of the Roman empire like Ptolemy that we are able to trace Hindu



colonization to the first century of the Christian Era. Java, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, who touched the island in the fifth century A.D. and stayed there for five months, was given over to the heretic. By that time Brahminism had gained the hold over Java, having taken it away from Buddhism.

After Java, Cambodia, the land of the ancient Khmers, and Indo-China under the ancient name of Champa, came to be settled by Hindu colonizers. They entered these far-flung lands through the delta of the Mekong. Obviously they must have come in bands not only as colonizers but as conquerors for soon they overcame the native semisavage tribes they found there. To them they gave government, civilization, religion, and culture. The time of their arrival must have been before the first century A.D. Ptolemy in fact mentions them as known to Roman traders and geographers. These were the men who founded the celebrated civilization and culture of the Khmers.

They must have spread along the banks of the Mekong as once they had done along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. By the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim, Hionem Tsang, had found a flourishing state in Champa, ancestor of modern Assam and Indo-China, which on account of its favorable position between India and China gave considerable commercial importance to its harbors, ports, and marts. Here as in Cambodia it was out of a Hindu conquering group, grafted on a native conquered stock, that a Hindu kingdom had grown. Thus from the basins of the Irawadi to those of the Menam and the Mekong, from at least the first century A.D. up to the conquest of these countries by Moslems, Portuguese, French, and British in modern times, the influence of India spread its hold over the countries of the Far East.

All this influence was more religious and cultural than political. Great Hindu and Buddhist states were no doubt

formed in Champa, Cambodia, the land of the Khmers, Siam or ancient Thailand. And the historian will note that there was a spaciousness in time and extent that distinguished these states formed by colonists and conquerors from those of the mother country. As always happens when they are abroad, away from the stifling hold of caste, the Hindus in their eastern settlements showed an expansiveness and amplitude that were singularly lacking in the homeland. It is as if they had emerged from narrow and dim-lit valleys into the freedom and light of the uplands. The kingdoms that Hindu colonists founded in Java, Siam, and Cambodia were larger and lasted longer than any state in India. The empire of Sailendra (about the eighth century A.D.), which at one time included Malaya, Java, Borneo, the Celebes, and the rest of the Archipelago, was an outstanding imperial state. Here the Hindu revealed himself the colonizer, the civilizer, the conqueror. This expansiveness can only be explained by the revolutionary effects that travel, especially perilous sea travel, has on the mind and heart of man.

Great, however, as were the polities that the Hindus and the Buddhists from India created in these lands, they also went the way of their prototypes in India. They rose, grew, flourished, and thereafter declined and fell from internal dissolution or external attack from Moslem or European. But what did not decline and fall was the religion and culture that Indian ships carried to these countries of the East. Buddhism still flourishes in Burma, Siam, and Cambodia. Hinduism had struck roots earlier in the land of the Khmers that came to be modern Cambodia, or in Champa in southeast Annam, in Java and Malaya generally.

The roots of culture and religion went deeper and lived longer than the roots of polity. And here again the spaciousness of the colonial finds expression in the religion and cul-

ture that the imperial Hindus and Buddhists sowed and grew.

A look at the pictorial reproductions of the temples and other buildings of Angkor-Vat in Cambodia, or of Borobodur in Java, and in fact of similar constructions found spread all along the coast from the Mekong to the Menam, gives one an idea of the spaciousness of the temple architecture of these colonial days. The broad and long terraces that flank the sides of the central temple structures are, as Dahlmann points out, unknown in India. It looks as if the Hindu architect of Angkor or Borobodur had here the elbowroom that he could not get in India. Although the architectural ideas came from India, in the application and execution of them there is a reaching out to broader freedom. There is also, according to Dahlmann, greater purity, simplicity, and restraint. The use of decoration is governed by the demands of moderation and harmony. Sculpture is subordinate to architecture. And the sculpture is of simple and refreshing subjects — children playing, animals gamboling, trees and flowers. Ornamentation is subjected to the rules and needs of the architectural whole. And that whole is larger and broader in conception than India knew. A transverse view of the temple of Angkor-Vat, or of Gapuon in Cambodia, or of Borobodur or Prambanam in Java helps one to realize the lateral expansiveness of Hindu architecture in the east. It is an architecture of freedom. And the architecture and sculpture of greater India is the culmination and climax of the art of India.

That art, like the social life out of which it arose, was inspired by religion. As in India the architecture was mainly temple architecture. The ruins of Angkor, Borobodur, and Prambanam are the ruins of ancient and honored centers of religious worship. The subjects of the sculptures to be found on the walls, the corridors, or on the pyramids of these

temples are religious subjects: Siva, Vishnu, Ganesh, Durga, Buddha. On the walls of the temple of Prambanam, the Ramayana cycle is carved. It is true that this worship is tolerant and not exclusive. Vishnu and Siva have their temples near each other. Buddhism and Hinduism jostle each other. It is another aspect of the liberalism which we noticed in the polity of these colonial settlements. But the *motif* of all this art and culture is religious. In the colonies as in India, religion has been the *causa causans* of all the art and culture and social life of the people.

Even the foreign influences that were brought to bear on ancient India did little to revolutionize Hindu thought or life. India was first brought into contact with foreign influences by Alexander's invasion of the Punjab in 325 B.C. This event introduced northwestern India to the people of the invasion and to the other side of the Indus. It is from this time that the Punjab begins to be at the crossroads of Indian history and politics.

Under the Selucids, whose empire included, off and on, most of northwestern India, this influence was continued and developed. It implied the extension and intensification of Greek influence. This is shown in the coins of the Graeco-Bactrian rulers who governed this part of the country for about a century and a half (300 to 160 B.C.). In 160 B.C., the Selucid empire was overthrown.

The Yavanas, another Greek dynasty, ruled in northwestern India between 200 and 53 B.C. The most famous of their rulers was King Milanda (Menander in Greek) who posed his famous questions before he became a convert to Buddhism.

The next rulers of this part of India belonged to a Scythian race, the Sakas. The coming of the Sakas broke the Greeks in the Punjab into a number of petty kingdoms which lasted from 160 B.C. to 50 B.C. After the Sakas came the Kushan who occupied Sind; Kathiawar, and Malwa. The most

famous of their sovereigns was King Kanishka, who settled the canon of the Buddhist scriptures about A.D. 78 and ruled over most of the Punjab.

Such a long period of Greek sovereignty must have impressed Greek influence on the life of the people of the Punjab. This was shown in the large number of coins that combined Indian and Greek ideas, the Indian elephant as well as the Greek horse, the beard as well as the helmet. It is proved also by the remains of architecture to be found in these parts. Simplicity, restraint in regard to decoration, and Greek moderation in general are to be found on the buildings and remnants of buildings which date from those times. Kshmir especially treasures examples of this influence of Greece upon Indian art. The temple of Marland, beautiful in its ruins, symbolizes this development. The pillars, the capitals, the arches take us back to Greece.

The same may be witnessed in the Gandhara sculpture. The Buddha for instance in the Indian art of Barhut and Sanchi is quite different from the Buddha in the Gandhara specimens. As Dahlmann points out, in the sculptures of Barhut and Sanchi the personality of the Buddha is overwhelmed by the story and legend of his birth and enlightenment. On the other hand, this personality comes to the foreground and into importance in the Gandhara figures. In the former Buddha himself is lost among the scenes and symbols of his life and of the religion that he founded. Impressed upon us are the wheel of the law and the men and animals and trees that figure in that life. But in the Gandhara sculptures, by contrast, the figure of Buddha dominates the picture and his setting. Another outstanding difference between the two representations, as pointed out by Dahlmann, is that the Gandhara Buddha is always clothed in a togalike sheet, covering his body and both shoulders, and falling down to the knees.

Had Greek influence enjoyed a longer history, it might

have affected Indian art in the direction of simplicity and restraint, and helped to stress in it nature, truth, and personality. But Greek influence did not last long enough in that part of the country. It was a temporary flash from the west. Whatever their influence on the art of India, the Greeks or the peoples influenced by them did little to make any political impression on the country. It was not these small peoples, with their base of operations outside India, most of them hinduized in religion and custom, that could achieve the making of India, for this required the energy and the activity of giants.

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## PART TWO

### *The Moslem Interlude*

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#### 1. WHO WERE THE MOSLEM RULERS?

OF ALL the attempts made by many foreigners to produce a political impression on India, excluding the latest whose effects continue to the present day, the most significant was that of the Moslems. It was the first real attempt at a conquest of India launched by a foreign nation on a large country-wide scale. To understand the rule of the Moslems in India, a rule which extended roughly from A.D. 1000 to 1800; to understand their success and their failure, their chances and their fortunes, the character and value of the work they did in the country they invaded and ruled for so long, we must first of all know what kind of people these foreign rulers of India were. What was the character and degree of their civilization and culture when they arrived in India?

To say that they were Moslems, followers of Islam, the religion founded by the Arab prophet Mahomet, is to give only a partial answer to our question. It is only a step in the answer. They were not only Mahometans by religion, they were something else. To call them Mahometans will not explain them. For, Islam, although it influenced their career in India, will not account for everything in it. We must therefore find out what the Moslem rulers of India

were by race, civilization, and culture, apart from what they were because of the religion which as a people we see them professing when they came to India.

To what kind and degree of civilization, then, did they belong? Not to speak of the Arabs who invaded Sind in A.D. 712 and who left little or no trace of their rule over that part of India, we find that all the other Mahometan invaders of India were either Turks or Afghans by race, mainly the former. Mahomad of Ghazni and his soldiers, with whom begins the history of Islam in the politics of India, deceptively immortalized by the periods of Gibbon, were all Turks. So were the Slave kings who held northern India almost throughout the thirteenth century: the house of Taglak (1321-1414), and especially the dynasty of the Great Mogul (1526-1857). Those who for comparatively shorter periods of time represented the Moslem rule in India can be briefly enumerated. They were first the Afghan dynasties of the Khiljis (1290-1314) who arrived between the Slave kings and the Taglaks; then the native dynasty of the Sayids (1414-1451); again the Afghan dynasties of the Lodis (1451-1526) from the last of whom Babar the Mogul wrested the rule of Delhi; and lastly the dynasty of the house of Sher Shah (1539-1556), the rival and exemplar of the greatest of the Great Moguls.

But it was the Turk that predominated. An eloquent testimony to the fact that Moslem rule in India was mainly Turkish is that in south Indian languages, Turk denotes Mahometan (*Toolukan* in Tamil, *Toorkodu* in Telugu). But Turks or Afghans, the Moslem rulers of India all belonged to the same kind and degree of civilization. Whatever their race, whenever and however they came to India, to whatever dynasty they belonged, the Moslem rulers of India, in matters of government, social life, and culture, were one and the same. Similar political arrangements, a similar social economy, added to a common religion, impart



a unity to the Moslem rule which divisions of race or dynasty cannot impair. Slave or Taglak, Afghan or Mogul, their rule as we shall see was characterized by the same ideals, the same practice, similar achievements, and similar shortcomings. And all this for the simple, valid reason that in civilization and culture they were akin to each other.

## 2. AT HOME IN CAMP AND TENT

The Moslem conquerors of India looked very much like Nomads. Their civilization and culture, their political and military organizations, their law, their family and social life, make them akin to the nomadic peoples of history. As we know the Turkish invaders of India, either in the pages of Elliott and Dowson or in the naïve autobiography of Babar, they live the free wandering life of nomadic conquerors, galloping on their sturdy Turkoman horses from plain to plain, sacking cities and overturning governments, either of their own race or of another. They seem to be always on the move. They do indeed live in cities but never for long. Samarcand, Bokhara, and Kabul, if not founded, were beautified by them; more, however, by artisans from Damascus or Delhi. Cities were to them rather places of refuge and wintering quarters than the seats of their hearths and homes. Like the Germans of Tacitus' time they seem to have felt the city too confining for their animal love of freedom. The camp, the tent, was the home of their predilection. Divided into clans or tribes, their political organization resembled that of other nomads, like the Kurds, the Albanians, and the highlanders of Scotland.

The "state of nature" in which they lived brought about a survival of the fittest. The Turkish followers of the father of Mahomad of Ghazni asserted their ascendancy over the Afghan tribes round about Ghazna; and, in a later time, out of a welter of Usbeks, Chaghatais, and Afghans, Babar carved a sovereignty for himself which traveled with him

and his followers wherever they went, from Ferghana in Transoxiana to Kabul in Afghanistan. The government of these Turkish or Afghan conquerors of India on the eve of their conquest of India was well adapted to the work which it had to do. It was the despotism of the leader, tempered by the necessity in war of consulting the chiefs of the tribe or clan that elected to follow his fortunes, and by the amenities in peace of a union based more on the *bonne camaraderie* of equals than on the centralization of a disciplined rule.

In such conditions of government, the race being always to the swift and the battle to the strong, it was no wonder that every succession to the throne, or rather leadership, was disputed. Mahomad of Ghazni deprived his younger brother, Ismail, of the patrimony of land which by a kind of borough English had been given him by their father, and Mahomad's own sons, Mahomad and Masoud, fell to quarreling with each other about the succession to their father's empire. Much of Babar's time and energy was given to meeting and trying to defeat the pretensions of his brothers, Jahangir Mirza and Nasir Mirza. The deplorable practice of giving each son an appanage or two of the father's kingdom made of the latter a prize always to be won but never won outright.

The restless movement of the nomad is nowhere better represented than in his army which is mainly composed of cavalry. The men that conquered under Babar and Mahomad of Ghor, as well as the invading armies of Ghazni, were mainly horsemen. The horse is dear to the nomad—even unto the eating of its flesh, and Babar records meals of horse meat as an ordinary thing.

Not only in matters of government but in family and social life, we find the characteristics of the nomadic age among the Turkish invaders of India. Like that of most nomads, their family life was based upon polygamy. They had the

nomad's contempt for agriculture and for the slow, laborious, and unexciting means of acquiring property. Outside the profession of arms, the further occupation they favored with their service was the nomadic one of trade. Carrying commodities from one country to another in caravans gave them the movement and change of scene which their hearts desired. It was the native, more settled, peasant population of the countries they conquered, like the Tajiks of Persia or Afghanistan, or the Sarts of central Asia, that supplied them with food and drink. Their laws were, more or less, a code of club law, except in so far as the civilizing influence of Islam came to modify it. Retaliation for crimes by blood relations was allowed in Babar's time. Cattle driving was a popular sport. "Ambition," says Erskine, "sanctioned every degree of treachery and deceit even towards their nearest relatives."<sup>1</sup>

As with the Turks, so with the Afghan conquerors of India, the Ghorides, the Sayids, and the Lodis. Then as now, the Afghans tended cattle and fought when they had nothing to feed their flocks. Agriculture, manufacture, and industry were in the hands of Persians, Armenians, or Hindus. They themselves were filled with a love of free movement and were fond of changing their boundaries. House against house and village against village, they were, what De Sacy says of their descendants, "incapable of the discipline of law and settled government and always on a warlike footing with their neighbors." As an Afghan is reported to have told Elphinstone, "disunion, unrest, and bloodshed were natural to them and they would never acknowledge a master."

Thus, whether Turks or Afghans, and however they might differ from each other in race and language, the Moslem conquerors of India were nomads. Of course there are

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Babar.*

nomads and nomads. There are gradations between, for instance, the Mongol, the Afghan, and the Turk. But in all that constitutes the difference between the nomadic and the settled state — political restlessness, dislike for agriculture, and hatred of discipline — they, each of them, in varying degrees, had the root of the matter in them. Historians have often wondered how the word Mogul, which Babar, like all true Turks, hated, has come to be applied to the empire in India founded and ruled by people of Turkish descent. But it would seem as if the rarely erring instinct of tradition has fastened upon the Turkish rulers of India a title which would prevent them or their admirers from ever attempting to renounce their nomadic identity.

### 3. RISE OF MOSLEM KINGDOMS

They subjected India to a series of invasions which woke her up from her age-long listlessness. Some of these invasions were no more than that word implies, leaving only a rack or two behind. Such were those of Mahomad of Ghazni who, between A.D. 997 and 1026, subjected India to fifteen distinct shocks and roused the Hindu rulers of northwest India to individual defense but not to united effort; of Mahomad Ghori who, between 1175 and 1206, raided the native kingdoms of northern India from Gujarat to Bengal; of Timur the Tamerlane of western history who passed through India like a hot blast of wind.

But other conquerors of India stayed behind and tried to make permanent settlements in the country. The rulers of the Slave dynasty (1206–1250) extended Moslem power over the Punjab, the Gangetic plains, and the territory occupied by the modern provinces of Oudh, Bihar, and Bengal, up to the banks of the Brahmaputra on the east and over Rajputana, Malwa, and Gujarat on the west. The whole of northern India, namely, except the forest tracts of the central provinces, was brought under one scepter.

Headed by the Khiljis (1288-1310), the Moslem advance penetrated to the south. Allaudin Khilji, the greatest of the Khiljis, in a daring expedition to the south conquered the Dekhan in 1294, and, in 1394, Malik Kafur, the greatest of its generals, spread the sound of the drums of the Moslem army over Deogiri, the modern Daulatabad in the Dekhan, as far south as Madura. Before Malik Kafur accomplished this no power had ever embraced the whole of India in a military occupation. Thus the possibility of bringing the whole of India under one rule was brought within the range of practical politics. The Tughlaks (1321-1414) kept up the practice of invading the whole of the country.

If the early Moslem dynasties had known how to organize their conquests, as well as how to make them, the unity of India would have been consolidated under them. But not all of them knew how to keep what their predecessors had won. Under the Sayids (1414-1451) and the Lodis (1451-1526) Moslem imperial rule was restricted to Delhi and its surroundings, while independent kingdoms were established in Bengal and Jawnpur.

Meanwhile India had begun to experience the conquest of a new set of Turkish invaders and rulers. When Babar, the knight errant who went out to seek an adventure and found an empire, entered India, in A.D. 1526, he had to rescue the country from the anarchy into which the weakness of the later sultans of Delhi had thrown it. But it was not until the travels and wanderings of his son and grandson ended in the resounding victory of Panipat, in 1526, that the rule of the Moguls can be said to have been established in the country. Akbar the Great (1556-1603), the greatest of them all, was able to take up the task of organizing the newly founded rule and wise enough not to be afraid of learning from the Afghan, Sher Shah. With Akbar the expansion and constitution of Moslem imperial rule in India had to begin anew, because that power had broken

into bits, scattered in northern India and in the Dekhan. He conquered Gujarat in 1562, and, in 1602, claimed to be sovereign of the Dekhan. But the Moslem rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda, not to speak of the kingdoms farther north, disputed his claim. In the reign of his grandson, Shah Jahan, in 1689, Bengal and Gujarat were under Mogul rule. But the work of consolidation of Mogul sovereignty in the Dekhan failed, as was proved not only by the resurgence of Hindu power in the hands of the Mahrattas under Sivaji, but by Aurangazib's difficulties in the Dekhan (1656-1680). Aurangazib was able to overthrow the Dekhan kingdoms but the success of the Mogul in the south was ephemeral. With Aurangazib's death, in 1707, the Mogul period entered upon its decadence.

Right at the very threshold of their Indian rule the Moslem invaders of India reveal the dominating characteristics of their race and civilization, not only in their practice, which we have just seen, but in their theory of invasion. The nomad feels he must move on to new countries and he moves on. No theories of scientific boundaries or of the rectification of frontiers, of imperial expansion, or of the necessities of commercial growth occur to him. He does not wait for population to press upon the soil. The necessities of nomadic subsistence, the want of agricultural occupations, the absence of the ties of home and country, drive the nomad to invasion for invasion's sake. "God has meant us to destroy the earth from the beginning to the end" was the reply of the Mongol, Khan Kuyuk, to an embassy praying for peace, sent by Pope Clement IV in the thirteenth century.

#### 4. PREDATORY INVASIONS

Like the Huns and the Mongols, the Afghan and Turkish invaders of India showed themselves nomadic in nothing so much as in the motives that prompted their invasions.

It was love of plunder and booty, or the overflowing energies of a people untamed by the arts of peace and industry, or simply the lust of conquest, that inspired the Moslem invasions of India. Some modern historians, indeed, deceived by the *obiter dicta* and the afterthoughts of the chroniclers, have attempted to picture these invasions, especially those of Mahomad of Ghazni, as being undertaken for the sacred cause of Islam. But if we observe the character of these invaders and the course of their invasions we shall see that they were directed by more secular and vulgar motives. "Sabaktagin" (A.D. 977), says Al'Utbi, the chronicler, "made frequent expeditions in the prosecution of holy wars (a mere tag) and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills, in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession and captured cities in India."

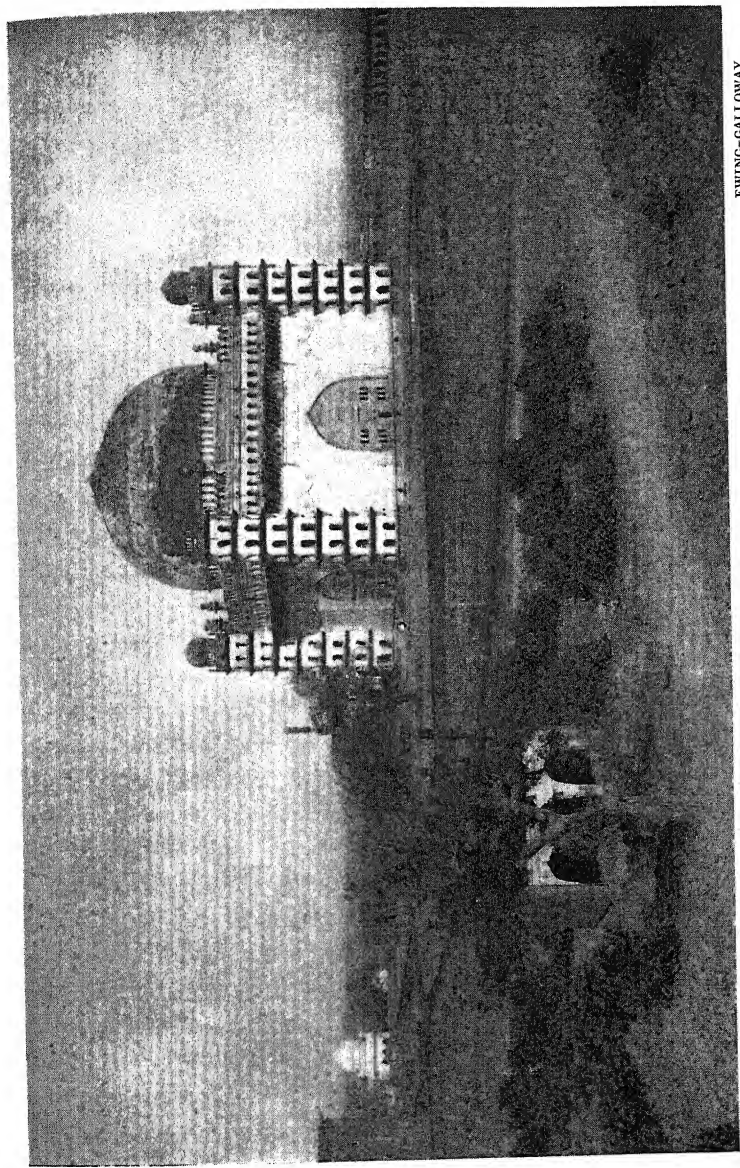
The same desire for booty seemed to be the dominating impulse of Mahomad of Ghazni's invasions (A.D. 999 to 1030). The expeditions of Mahomad, with the sacking of cities and the plundering of temples, the retreats as rapid as the invasions as soon as a fair booty had been got, resemble nothing so much, in spite of the glamour Gibbon has thrown over them, as the raids of a robber chief. The real character of Mahomad seems to be mirrored in the scene which Al'Utbi tells us took place on Mahomad's return from the capture of Bhimnagar, in 1009, at which Mahomad himself took charge of the jewels that fell into the hands of the captors. "The Sultan," he says, "appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it. After this, he returned to Ghazna in triumph; and, on his arrival there, he ordered the courtyard of his palace to be covered with a carpet on which he displayed jewels, unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks or like wine congealed with ice, and emer-

alds like fresh springs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates." The familiar anecdotes related of him, of the gamester who treated him as his partner, of the shabby treatment he meted to Firdausi, the poet, of his weeping on his deathbed at the thought of having to part with his wealth, only serve to confirm the impression found in the chronicles that Mahomad's invasions were plundering raids rather than permanent conquests. This simple and elementary theory of invasion was shared also by Mahomad's successors who, unlike him, settled in India.

The thought of raid or conquest seemed to be the *idée fixe* of almost all the Moslem rulers of India. The comparative inactivity of Sultan Balban (A.D. 1266 to 1287) led his nobles to express their wonder how with his well-equipped and disciplined army he had not undertaken any distant campaign and had never moved out of his territory to conquer new regions. The reply of Balban was as characteristic as the question. "In the reigns of my patrons and predecessors," he said, "there was none of this difficulty of the Mughal invasions; they could lead their armies where they pleased, subdue the dominions of the Hindus and carry off gold and treasure. If my anxiety (caused by the Moguls) were removed, I would not stay one day in my capital but would lead forth my army to capture treasure and valuables, elephants and horses, and would never allow the Rais and the Ranas to repose in quiet at a distance."

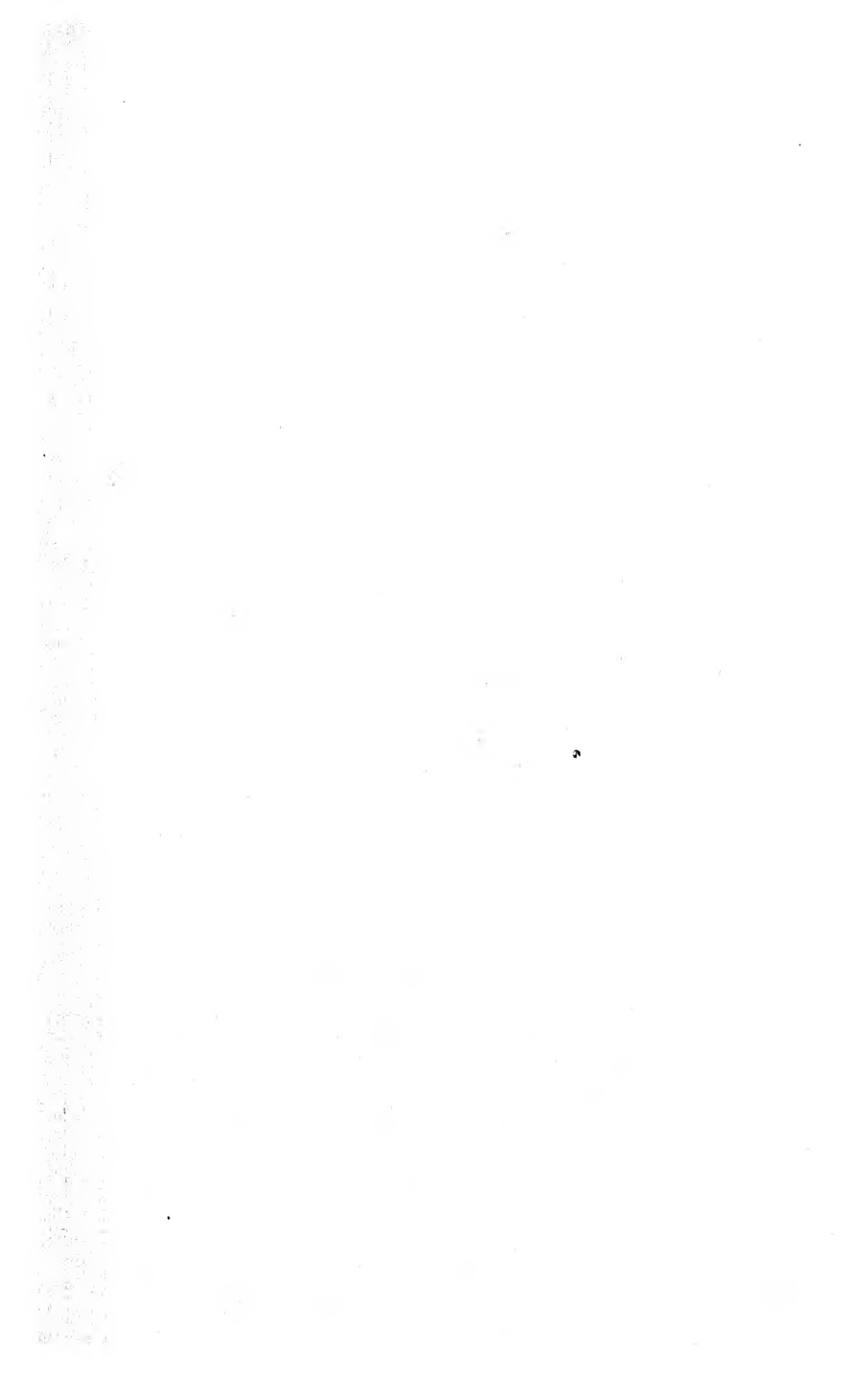
Allaudin (A.D. 1296 to A.D. 1316) of the Khilji dynasty when governor of Oudh and Badaun heard, we are told, that the "Rai of Hind, whose capital was Deogir, had immense treasures in money and jewels, and he therefore conceived an intense desire to secure them for himself and conquer the country." Allaudin, having laden all the beasts he could procure with his spoils and giving thanks to God, returned to his own province. At the sack of Warangal, in 1310, Malik Kafur demanded everything that the rajah's





EWING-GALLOWAY

The tomb of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, called the Gol Gombaz (round dome), Bijapur.



country produced from vegetables to mines and minerals. The Malik took the entire wealth of the Rai, to quote the narrative of the famous poet-chronicler, Amir Khusrû, and threatened a general massacre if it should be found that the Rai had reserved anything for himself. He left Warangal with all his booty while a thousand camels groaned under the weight of the treasures. On his arrival at Delhi, in an assembly of chiefs and nobles, the plunder was presented and the Malik duly honored.

It was the same with the greatest of the Moslem invaders of India, the Mughals. Not because Babar's independence was threatened by any Indian chief, nor for the sake of acquiring a good frontier, nor again in order to strengthen his rule in Kabul, did he invade India. Nor did he wait until he had organized his conquest in Afghanistan. While still a newcomer in Kabul, he had heard from an old woman stories of the wealth and commerce of Hindustan. As soon as he learned from Allaudin Lodi that the invasion of the country would actually be an easy matter, he at once set about it. No cause given, no offense taken, with no references to the glory of Islam or the breaking down of idolatry, without any appeal to any political motive, Zahirudin Mahomad Babar (1519-1530) invaded the country — the last stage in the long and checkered course of his knight errantry. The noble Babar was not above thoughts of plunder and booty. He conceived the invasion of Bahrah on the near-by borders of Hindustan, simply because if he were to push on without baggage his soldiers might light upon some booty. As a matter of fact, on the invasion of Bahrah he agreed with the headmen of the place to accept the sum of 400,000 Ashrafis as the ransom of their property.

Even the great Akbar (1556-1605), as his British biographer<sup>2</sup> admits, was ever possessed with a craving for the

<sup>2</sup> Vincent Smith.

conquest of new territory. Conquests for the sake of plunder were not infrequent in his reign. The flourishing territory of Garha-Kantaka, belonging to the beautiful Durgavati, excited the greed of Akbar, and was consequently invaded and plundered, simply because Akbar had heard of its wealth and prosperity. It consisted of 7000 flourishing villages and he argued that its conquest would be an easy matter.

How politically purposeless were many of the invasions of the Moslem rulers of India is shown by the senseless, because unnecessary, attempts at conquest of distant and inaccessible countries. Mahomad Taglak (A.D. 1325 to 1351), indeed, has been branded with an unenviable notoriety for his invasion of Tibet and his design of invading China. But even levelheaded emperors, like Shah Jahan and Aurangazib, frittered energies, which they ought to have conserved, in useless raids in Tibet, Balkh, or Badakshan.

In keeping with their principles of invasion was their treatment of the conquered on the battle field. Many of the greatest of the Moslem conquerors have been guilty of what would nowadays be called a policy of frightfulness. Babar more than once confesses in his *Memoirs* to having put all the garrison of a captured fort or town to the sword. Neither Sher Shah the Afghan (1540-1545) nor Akbar scrupled to ravage and lay waste the country of occupation. Sher Shah, often spoken of here in comparatively high terms, could employ abhorrent measures and pyramids of skulls, in the manner of Tamerlane, were raised by Akbar as well as Babar. In the wars of the latter in Afghanistan and India, prisoners of war were often butchered in cold blood after the action.

The slavery of women and children as a consequence of the fortunes of war flourished till Akbar made a noble attempt to put it down. Ferishta relates that it was, thanks to the representations of the Hindu ambassadors from

Vijayanagar, that Mahomad Shah Bahamani agreed to spare the lives of prisoners of war, a stipulation which was soon broken, however. Although the Turkish invaders of India were superior in civilization to the Mongols of Chengiz Khan and Timur, yet it must be confessed that in their conduct toward the defeated in battle there was very little to choose between the two.

#### 5. IMPORTANCE OF THE CAVALRY

The armies of the Moslem invaders of India were a natural concomitant and instrument of the objects of their invasions. By the very nature of the work they had to do, the Turkish armies, like those of other nomads, were organized for one thing above all others, namely to move and strike rapidly. The armies of the Turks that conquered India were for invasion rather than for occupation. They would move speedily, strike quickly, cover the largest space of country in the shortest period of time, rush to their objective and rush back to their base before a determined or prolonged opposition. They wanted decisions at once and accepted the first reverse as quietly and complacently as they would a victory that might fall into their laps at the first shaking. The military needs of the Turkish rulers of India, therefore, decided that the predominant part of their armies should be in the cavalry. They fought mostly on horseback. It was on horseback that the Avars, the Huns, and the Magyars invaded Europe; and it was on horseback that the Turkish and Afghan hordes burst through the north-west passes into the plains of India. In a strictly literal sense, the Moslems rode into empire in India.

In the first invasion, the armies of Mahomad of Ghazni numbered 15,000; on the ninth expedition they had increased to 1,000,000 horses, supported by 10,000 infantry. On his last expedition Mahomad set out with 20,000 camels and 30,000 horses to cross the deserts of Sind. On few or no

occasions do the chroniclers of his invasions make mention of the infantry. Like the Huns, who could sleep on their horses, so Mahomad's warriors, as Al'Uthbi tells us, found their greatest pleasure in the saddle which they regarded as a throne.

In the military organization of Mahomad's successors, also, the cavalry predominated. Sher Shah's army consisted of 150,000 horses and only 25,000 footmen. In a speech which he once made to his soldiers he spoke of the Bengal cavalry as being deprived of the support of the artillery and of the infantry, considering the cavalry as the central and main part of his army. And such indeed it was. Babar's troops also were mostly cavalry, and so were the armies of the great Moguls after him. Most of Akbar's battles were cavalry actions. Bernier, in his letter to Colbert, puts the army raised by the Mansubdar system at 300,000 horsemen, the infantry being of little account. According to Manucci, Aurangazib ordinarily kept 50,000 horses in garrison, besides an almost equal number in movement every day. What a large and important place the cavalry filled in the military organization of the Mogul is seen in the fact that the very ranks and orders of the Mogul nobility were determined by the number of horses of which a man was put in command.

The famous Mansubdars of the Mogul court, who resemble in position and origin the myriarchs and chiliarchs of ancient Persia, were commanders of horses, the highest rank of this dignity carrying with it the command of 10,000 or 12,000 horses. Some of the most influential officials around the Mogul emperors were those in charge of the horses of the empire. The Atbegi, entrusted with the care of all horses belonging to the government, was in Akbar's time one of the highest officers of the state and always a grandee of great rank. The Amir-al-Akbar, the superintendent of the stables, and the master of the hunt were important officials

at the Mogul court. The horse was of the greatest strategic and tactical importance to the Turkish conquerors of India. Babar was using no idle metaphor but one that sprang to his pen from life when he records his resolution to invade India in these words: "I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the rein of confidence in God, and marched against Sulton Ibrahim."

## 6. INFANTRY AND PRIMITIVE ARTILLERY

To say that the armies of the Moslem rulers of India were mainly cavalry is not to say that they were wholly so. They relied on other arms besides the cavalry, but these held a subordinate position. They were meant, as Sher Shah tells us, to support the cavalry and not to be supported by it. The infantry was generally smaller in numbers than the cavalry. The large numbers of foot soldiers recorded in some of the authorities were considered by the European travelers of the time to have been composed mainly of camp followers and sutlers and the miscellaneous rabble that generally followed a Mogul army.

It is possible that Manucci's observation, stating that the infantry of Aurangazib's army, 20,000 in number, was made up entirely of Rajputs, may be true of other sultans and other reigns as well. Just as the sultans of Turkey relied for the infantry of their army on recruitment from their Christian subjects, who formed the famous janissaries, so it is possible that in India also the Moslem emperors relied upon their Hindu feudatories to furnish them their infantry.

Not merely in numbers but in prestige was the Mogul infantry considered to be the inferior arm. The foot soldiers received the smallest pay of all. They were generally recruited from the more or less despised subject population. The infantry was poorly equipped and badly served. As late as Bernier's time (A.D. 1700), the muskets of the foot soldiers were made to rest on forks and fired by men who

squatted on the ground for fear of damaging their eyebrows and beards in the flash.

The Moslem armies, especially in the days of the Moguls, could also boast of some artillery. It is doubtful whether the guns which Babar is said to have used at the battle of Panipat were cannon or, as a French writer<sup>3</sup> would have it, chariots tied together in a manner much affected by nomadic armies like those of the Huns and the Turks. Humayun is reported to have had seven hundred guns discharging stone balls of the weight of five pounds, and twenty-one discharging brass balls ten times as heavy as the others. Aurangazib (1656-1680), it is said, at one time transported as many as seventy pieces of heavy artillery and two hundred to three hundred swivel guns mounted on the backs of animals. There was also a higher kind of artillery, called the artillery of the stirrup because it was always near the emperor and composed of ten pieces in bronze, well mounted on small carts and well limbered. For the defense of fortresses and for siege operations some of the Mogul emperors had a few enormous guns which are said to have required for transport two hundred and fifty to five hundred oxen apiece. The gunners, in the service of the Moguls were mostly Portuguese or other Christians just as the engineers of Chengiz Khan were mainly Chinese. The artillery was an adopted weapon as the infantry was a subordinate one. But the weakest part of the Moslem army was its commissariat.

Although it is only of late that the military importance of the commissariat and the truth of the saying that an army moves on its stomach has been realized, yet even for those times the commissariat of the Turkish armies in India was in a woeful condition. They depended on the plunder of flourishing villages or on cities to feed their soldiers and their horses. Many times we meet this doleful sentence in the chronicles, "provisions became very scarce and the army

<sup>3</sup> M. Pavet de Courteille.



was reduced to the verge of destruction." During Aurangazib's campaigns in the Dekhan, it often happened that grain became scarce, horses and camels dropped dead, and greatest of woes, the nobles were forced to walk. On one occasion, Mir Jumla's army was reduced to eating horse flesh. Even in the more settled times of Jahangir and Akbar we hear of the same complaint about provisions and provender in the royal camp.

## 7. ELEMENTARY MILITARY ORGANIZATION

But the weakness and looseness of their commissariat is only a sample of the whole military organization of the Turks in India. They indeed kept standing armies stationed in the various provinces, as did ancient Persia. But neither the recruiting nor the equipment of the army was ever organized or regular. Apart from the auxiliary forces that were brought by the feudatory rajahs, some of the soldiers were hired in a haphazard manner by the sultan himself and supplied with mounts by the central government. But the major portion was supplied by the Jagirdars and Mansubdars according to the terms of their tenure of land or military service. The latter, however, were not a source always to be depended on. The number of mounted horsemen supplied in this manner was invariably less than the established quota and Akbar made a gallant attempt, by having every man's features and person described on the muster roll and by a system of branding the horses, to put an end to a habit of fraudulent substitution which was one of the crying drawbacks of the Mogul army.

The payment of the soldiers was as irregular as their equipment. At first the Moslem soldiers must have been paid in money, the leaders probably being assigned lands. But Allaudin Khilji was afraid that grants of land would tend to establish the independence of his lieutenants. This fear of Allaudin did not influence the policy of the later sultans

of Delhi. Feroz Shah Taglak (1351-1388) paid his soldiers in land instead of money. The prudent reform of Allaudin was partially revived in a later time by Akbar. But any system, however evil, would be a mercy compared to no system. And the scandal of irregular payment was rather frequent even in the days of the best of the Moguls. The generals and other officers observed no fixed rules in paying their soldiers; to some they would give twenty or thirty rupees, to others forty, fifty, or a hundred. And sometimes, even the sultan's soldiers were foisted off with clothes, new or old, from the palace, in lieu of payment of arrears.

As for the equipment of these soldiers, it was probably various like that of the "Austrian army which was awfully arrayed." Each Mensabadar or Jagirdar dressed his men in his own way and gave them arms of his own choosing. The auxiliaries, supplied by the Rajputs and other feudatories, must have increased the miscellaneous appearance of the armies of the Delhi sultan, so that a picturesque variety rather than an efficient uniformity was the feature of the Mogul army and arrested the attention of the contemporary traveler.

The officering of the Mahometan armies was just as loose as the rest of their organization. The sultan or a substitute appointed by him, was the commander in chief of the forces in the field. But when the sultan was not in command, the loyal co-operation of the various troop commanders depended not so much on the habits of military obedience as on the character, ability, or influence of the chief in command. The soldiers owed allegiance not so much to the sultan or the state as to their immediate commander. A degree of autonomous action was allowed to subordinate officers, which was ruinous to military discipline and accounts for many of the defeats of Moslem armies, and not less for many of their useless victories.

As crude and as elementary as the organization of the

Moslem armies was, also, their conduct of battle. Their tactics were of the simplest nature. The preponderance of cavalry determined the conduct of a battle. Open country was necessary for a successful action, for, without this their cavalry could not deploy freely. Even ground covered with thick shrubs, and small hills and ravines, not to speak of mountainous regions, floored the Mogul army. The nimble and exiguous Mahratta troops did pretty much what they liked with the elaborate armies of Aurangazib.

The Turkish armies, in which the cavalry predominated, as we have seen, were generally divided into a left wing, a right wing, and a center. The artillery, when there was one, was placed in front, unlike the engines in the Roman army which were placed in the rear of all. Behind the army the baggage and the women were located. When the battle had been set in array the engines or guns would belch forth their projectiles to begin the action. The firing of guns was never very rapid, one every three hours at the most, and Babar confesses to having shot only eight or sixteen projectiles in the course of a whole day. Owing to the slowness of the draught oxen, the artillery seldom took a prolonged part in the battle and in case of defeat the guns were rarely saved. As soon as the guns had been silenced, the cavalry came into action. Either the left or the right wing of the army flung itself on the corresponding part of the enemy's forces, till the center of one of them was crushed, and victory or defeat was the matter at the most of a day, very often of a few hours. Most of the battles fought by the Mahometans were won or lost, as one chronicler puts it, "in the twinkling of an eye."

Victory or defeat was rarely doubtful, which is not the case when armies are determined on disputing every inch of ground and on never giving up hopes of retrieving a battle. Whatever the chances of war they must materialize early. In the invasions of Mahomad of Ghazni, before the

terrible *elan* of a soldiery thirsting for the jewels and slaves of Sind, the armies and fortresses of the Hindus fell like ninepins.

The famous assault on the well-fortified temple of Somnath was a matter of three days, while the battle at the gates which settled the fate of the temple was won within merely a few hours. In Mahomad of Ghazni's first encounter with the Rajputs, under Prithvi Raja at Tarai near Thaneswar, his own rash charge at the elephant of the Rajah's brother nearly cost him his life and his retirement. It altogether lost him the battle. With the scattering of the advance guard of the Delhi sultan by a clever flanking movement of Timur, at the battle of Delhi (1398), the left wing collapsed, and although the center held out for some time it was not long before it also bent to the storm of Timur's attack.

The first battle of Paniput (1526), which gave Babar the Delhi throne, was decided between the dawn and noon of a single day. An attack by the army of the Lodi on Babar's right was lost by hesitation on its part at the hurdles and obstacles in its way. This caused confusion in its midst on account of the pressure of its own men from behind, and so, with Babar's flankers galloping out and surrounding them, his gunners gaily adding to the embarrassment of the confusion, the enemy soon became engaged on all sides and was forced back upon its center. Unable thus to withstand the charges of the Mogul cavalry it soon broke and fled for life. The same took place in the other decisive battles fought at Paniput, the last of which, after three months of weary watching, was settled by the end of one day.

Even in their cavalry charges, there was an absence of sympathy and co-ordination between the parts of the army, which made their battles shorter than the battles between disciplined forces. With the blinding shot that pierced the eye of Hemu, the leader of the Afghan army at the second

battle of Paniput (1556), the fortunes of the day went to the young Akbar. And Dara, the elder son of Shah Jahan, lost the battle of Samgarh (1658) and his claims to the throne by foolishly descending from his point of vantage on the back of his elephant at the very moment when the luck of the battle was with him. The main objective of the cavalry charges, as of the whole battle, was the elephant of the enemy's leader. With the killing or flight of the commander the battle ended in victory for the other army.

Nomad armies have been described as bolts shot at a venture, and the unsteadiness of the nomad is seen in the complacency and the readiness with which he yields to the slightest reverse to his arms. In keeping with the Mogul's elementary notions of warfare was his inability to reduce a fortress except by the crude method of surrounding the beleaguered place, completely obstructing the communications, and starving the people into submission. Captures by a *coup de main* or by escalades were too much for them. If in the time of Aurangazib we hear more of assaults and escalades it is probably because engineers from the west, Christians or Mahometans from Rome, were to be found in the Mogul army. Indeed, however numerous, however elaborately equipped, however luxurious in their camps the armies of the Mahometan rulers of India might have been, yet their military art was of the simplest kind.

Crude and primitive also was the habit of the commanders in carrying their women with them on their campaigns. The nomad carries along his home and his wives on his wanderings with him. In the armies of Attila, as of Babar and of Timur, the wives of the soldiers and commanders filled a large place and were put at the rear with the baggage. Even when the Moslem rulers were settled in their capitals at Delhi or Agra, yet on their campaigns they invariably carried their wives along with them. It could not have been mere sensuality or uxoriousness, because the best

as well as the worst did it — the clearheaded Sher Shah, the wise Akbar, the ascetic Aurangazib, as well as the ordinary run of the Delhi sultans. The Mogul padshah, when he carried his zenana with him on his marches, was only continuing the practice of his fathers, and it was not only on short campaigns that the padshah took her with him. So in the Dekhan and Mahratta wars, Aurangazib's daughter and the other princesses complained to him that it was then thirteen years since they had left the court of Delhi and all the time they had been on the march. And while it was in one of the campaigns that strict orders were passed for the *ahadis*, or ordinary soldiers, not to take their wives or children with them — yet this order was more honored in the breach than in the observance, in view of the example set by the padshah and his officers.

However simple their organization for it, however naïve and childish in their handling of it, the first Mahometan rulers of India were bound to war itself by ties of instinct and of blood. War is something natural to the nomad. In it he moves, lives, and has his being. "Why do you fight us without ceasing?" asked the Roman emperor, Julian, of the chief of a German tribe. "Because," was the reply, "war is the supreme happiness of life." Tacitus tells us that among the Germans it was considered laziness and inertia to obtain by the sweat of the brow what might be conquered by the shedding of blood.

It seems to have been so also with the Turks and Afghans in India. From the day their royal leaders set foot in India, to the day on which their scepter fell from their old and feeble hands, the history of these men is the history of almost one prolonged and continuous war. During the five hundred years of the effective rule of the Moslems, from the year 1206 to the year 1707, it is doubtful whether India, thanks to them, enjoyed peace for as many as a hundred years. War, incessant and ever present, was the chief note

of the Turkish domination in India. Wars of invasion, wars of succession, wars of quarrel and wars of revenge, wars of religion and wars for booty — all these, whether one or the other, form the chief staple of the chronicles of Moslem India. And what is most significant of the true character of the dominion of the Turks is the striking fact that they ceased to rule as soon as they ceased to conquer. Aurangazib was the last of their conquerors and the last of them that governed beyond mere reigning.

#### 8. DESPOTISM, PURE AND SIMPLE

This preoccupation with war and the place of the army in Moslem public life colored their whole scheme of government. Success in warfare demands absolute and undivided command, and the Moslem state in India must have a despotic ruler. Alike in camp and capital, his will, so far as it was effective, was law. He could brook no rival near his throne. The consultation with commanders of their forces which nomadic chiefs on the march, leaders such as Babar, resorted to, disappeared soon after a country had been conquered and the troops were dispersed amongst the subjects.

The Turkish rule in India was an undiluted despotism. If there were any ministerial councils they depended for their work and service on the pleasure of their sovereign, and not on the law or custom of the constitution. An aristocracy might have tempered the royal despotism. But the nobles around the Delhi sultan were nobles by his favor rather than by right of birth. Their claims to check the will of their sovereign were exercised intermittently and determined by prospects of success rather than by the necessities of the state.

It was only when weaklings or children sat upon the *masnad*, or at the death of the ruler, that the nobles showed their power just at the moment when it was unnecessary or dangerous to the empire. When a strong man was on the

throne, the opposition of the nobles generally ran underground in secret opposition of conspiracy. But never was it open, continuous, or constitutional. And beyond the fear of exciting the opposition of their nobles there were few immediate checks upon the complete despotism of the Delhi sultans. These, unlike their brothers of Constantinople, were not subject to the power of the Ulemas. A Fatwa of the Great Mafti could dethrone a sultan of Turkey, But no sheik or kazi in India wielded such power over the sultan as the Sheik-Ul-Islam at Constantinople.

Fortunately, however, for the subject people of India, there was one check upon the royal despotism of their Moslem sultans, and that was the general inertia of the latter. Provided the subject peoples kept his treasuries full and did not disturb the peace of his reign, the Moslem ruler did not care to press hard upon those whom he had conquered. He did not feel any overwhelming desire, like the Romans, or the Normans of the Middle Ages, or the English of our day, to impose his ideas and institutions upon the people whom the chances of war had brought under him. The Turkish rulers of India pressed lightly upon the lives of the subdued peoples. They did not interfere with the religion of the Hindus beyond imposing special taxes upon them. The subject people were allowed as a rule to profess their religion in peace, provided they paid the taxes and obeyed the administrative decrees of the sultan. The alternative, "your life or your religion," said to have been offered to Hindus, is a fiction of the historian in a hurry.

Not only in matters of religion but in the sphere of government the Hindus were to a large extent left alone. The villages continued to exercise their powers of self-government, and India, then more than now, was a country of villages. Much of the conquered territory was left in the hands of native feudatory rajahs. These enjoyed their traditional rights of succession, and, provided they paid the



tribute and performed their other obligations, were allowed a great measure of liberty and autonomy — this, not because the Moslem sultans renounced the evils, but because they declined the burdens of absolutism. Hindu law still governed the civil relations between Hindus. Indeed, whole provinces of Indian life were exempt from the interference of the state, not so much because the Moslem rulers believed in the virtues of liberty as because they had nothing better to offer, and they did not feel any need to change what they had no reason to condemn.

Here and there, as in their theory of property in land, which we shall examine later on, they did interfere with the customs of the Hindus, but, as a rule and on the whole, Hindu private life was free from the pressure of the Moslem rulers. However, apart from the important check furnished by the political laziness of the rulers and by that ultimate check on all rule, public opinion, acting quicker upon monarchical than on democratic despotism, the Turkish rule in India, so far as it was effective and positive, was despotic in the extreme. Sultans like Allaudin tried to influence the course of trade by fixing the price of grain, concubines, and slaves, and even the journeys of carriers and caravans through a controller of markets. Sometimes the Moslem sultans intruded even into the private life of their immediate dependents.

Whereas in the first flush of victory their absolute rule over the subject races was exercised through the despotism of subordinates who belonged to their own race and religion, a time came when the members of the ruling race itself were overtaken by the nemesis of despotism. After being allowed to tyrannize over the Hindus, and even while doing so, the conquerors themselves, in their turn, became the victims of the tyranny of the common sultan. Apropos the marriage of a nobleman's daughter, even the prudent Sher Shah could say, "It becomes not a noble of the State

to do a single act without the king's permission." And under the easygoing Jahangir, it was considered a fault, if not a crime, that Mahobat Khan had affianced his daughter without the royal permission. In the end, both the ruling caste and the subjects were governed despotically. It was not without reason that the term *rayat* (now the British Indian *ryot*), which denoted the subject population, came from a word which meant originally a flock of sheep.

#### 9. SUCCESSION BY THE MOST RELENTLESS

Although the divine right to govern despotically was one of the most certain rights of the Delhi sultan, yet it was a right he could not bequeath to his children. The right to rule in Moslem India was determined by the power to rule. The monarchical power of the ruler depended on the possession of superior talents and on the capacity to guide and lead. No claims founded on prescription, no idea of loyalty to a dynasty, no enthusiasm for a cause determined the allegiance of the subject to the sovereign chief.

Not to the idea but to the fact of monarchy did people in the Moslem state pay the homage of submission. The good old rule, the simple plan, that they would take who have the power, and they should keep who can, was attributed by the poet to nomads and applied to all classes of them. The practice of a kind of survival of the fittest governed the mode and order of succession to the Delhi throne. The political constitution of the Moslem state in India knew of no theory of royal succession. The sultanate of Delhi, like the great khanships of the hordes of central Asia, was not a hereditary office. As in Turkey, neither the *Sheriat* nor the *Qanoon* provided for any such prop of a settled monarchy.

By the time the Turks came to India the monarchical idea had indeed so far taken root that a son often succeeded to the rule and troubles of his father. But which son should

do so was determined by no law, not even by an accepted and uniform method. They had no predilections for the eldest son, probably because in their central Asian homes, it was not the eldest son who was with his father at the time of the latter's death, having generally left his home as soon as possible to fend and found a family for himself. Moreover, a practice resembling borough English was not unfamiliar to them. According to this the youngest son, who by reason of his age stayed with his father, succeeded to the property and care of the family of his father.

Howbeit, almost every succession to the Delhi throne was disputed. Right at the very beginning of Turkish rule in India its chronicles were stained by the successive quarrels of Mahomad and Masoud, sons of Mahomad of Ghazni. The son of Kutbuddin Aibak (A.D. 1200 to 1210), the capable founder of the Slave dynasty, was dethroned after a year by his slave, Altamash. The able Allaudin succeeded his uncle and patron, Jallaludin, only over the bodies of his young cousins whose cause was naturally, but with danger, championed by their mother. On the death of Mahomad Taglak, the opposition to his nephew, Firoz, gathered around the claims of a suppositious son of the former. And Nazruddin, the son of Firoz, would not accept with complacence the accession of Adubaker, the grandson. Sikandar, the second of the Lodis (1492-1526) found his claims to succeed his father disputed by the opposition of some chiefs on behalf of an infant nephew. The eldest son of Sher Shah soon had to give place to the younger and abler Salim.

The same sad fate dogged the last days, if it did not sadden, the whole reign of almost every one of the great Moguls. One of the chief crosses of Babar's romantic life in his ancestral home was the opposition furnished by his brothers Jahangir Mirza and Nazir Mirza. Humayun's hold in India (1530-1540) was always feeble, but the treachery of his brothers, Hindal, Askari, and Kamran, made it still

more precarious. If Jahangir thought that his peaceful accession would not be disturbed by the inconvenient existence of any brothers, the event showed that he had reckoned without his host in his son, Khusuru. And his last days were saddened, if indeed such a thing could happen to that royal swiller, by the rivalries of his sons, Khurram and Shariyar. But the fratricidal wars on a dramatic scale were those that took place in the last years of Shajahan's life.

Although Moslem India need not blush in the possession of such a Qanoon as the famous rule of Mahomad II of Turkey, by which the son who succeeded in ascending the throne of his father was authorized to put all his brothers to death, yet the facts of almost every succession were the same at Delhi as on the Bosphorous. The strongest, the most cruel, the most unscrupulous son managed to find a way for himself to the seat of authority. Mahmud, the favorite but unfortunate son of Mahomad of Ghazni, was blinded and sent into confinement by his successful brother. The Sultana Razia and her husband had to be put to death before her brother could ascend a throne which she forfeited more on account of her sex than by reason of any inability to rule. The two successors of Razia also met with a violent end. And the Khilji dynasty came to power with the assassination of Kaikobad, the last of the Slaves.

Allaudin, the greatest of the Khiljis, succeeded his patron and uncle after one of the blackest crimes in history, and he did not feel secure on the throne built on blood till he had rounded off his scheme by killing his two cousins. And if it is true that he died of poison administered by his favorite commander, Kafur, he only suffered in his person what he had meted out to others. Kafur, as if his appetite had been whetted, blinded two of his master's sons and was about to kill a third when he himself formed the last term in an orgy of assassination. Finally the Khiljis themselves disappear from history in a pool of blood, slaughtered

wholesale by the hands of the Hindu favorite of the last of their sultans.

The first of the succeeding dynasty of the Taglaks was crushed to death by the falling of a wooden pavilion erected, not improbably, for that purpose, by a too impatient heir. The reigns of the Taglaks, the Lodis, and the first Moguls were not stained by the wholesale massacres of former dynasties, but the cold-blooded killing of unsuccessful or formidable rivals becomes a distressing feature of later Mogul history. Babar indeed records the custom of the Bengal Moslems of his time that whoever killed the king and succeeded in placing himself on that throne was immediately acknowledged as king. "We are faithful to the *throne*," they told him. "We are faithful and obedient to it." The worship of the accomplished fact and the sanctification of the right of regicide could go no farther.

These bloody contests for the throne were not due mainly to the family system of the Moslems. The fact of the sons of a sultan having different mothers may have had much to do with the disputed succession. But even when there was only one mother, as in the famous instance of Shah Jahan's sons, the disputed succession was not avoided. The root of the evil lay in the political system. The disputed successions, which so luridly illustrate the annals of Moslem history in India, seem to be a reminiscence and relic of the old days of the central Asian steppes, when the nomadic hordes chose their leader, not always from the same family, but ever with an eye to the business of their lives. Here and there we find, even in the later chronicles, scenes which remind us of the Kurultais of the old Mongols and Tartars. At the deathbed of Mahomad Taglak and of Akbar consultations took place between the sultan and his nobles as to his successors. Sometimes also, the chroniclers relate, the sultans, such as Khizr Shah, in 1428, rose with the assent of the Maliks, the Amirs, the Imams, and the Sayids.

All-embracing despot though the Delhi sultan was, he had neither the inclination nor the energy to exercise all the power that the theory and nature of his position had gathered into his hands. He had neither the vision nor the capacity necessary for the head of what should have been a highly centralized system of government. He had neither the will nor the hardihood of a European absolute ruler of the eighteenth century. It is indeed not strictly accurate to call the Delhi sultanate a despotism, because this despotism was never insistent and, as a rule, was never felt in all branches of administration. The Delhi sultan was a despot only when he got the chance, by fits and starts, rather than in a systematic, consistent manner. His despotism, because he would not exercise all of it, was shared with others. He had perforce to delegate his power. But the men to whom he delegated his authority were satraps rather than servants. By the necessity of his position he shared his power with his governors rather than devolved it through them.

#### 10. SATRAPIAL GOVERNMENT, IN MOSLEM INDIA

The main features of the satrapial form of government, as we know them, for instance, from the history of ancient Persia, were reproduced in the provincial government of Moslem India. The governors or viceroys of the Delhi sultans, the *subhedars* in their *subhas*, like those of Darius, were his deputies appointed by him and dependent on him. But they held their offices on the one and only condition of remitting to the Delhi treasury the contracted tribute of the province, of furnishing the contracted quota of troops and supplying provisions to the royal army on the march. Apart from this, they were allowed to rule their provinces almost as they pleased. Detailed instructions or rules of service were out of the question.

The Nawabs or Subhedars of these provinces were despots in miniature. And, as often happens with satrapial govern-

ment, the most powerful among the governors set themselves up as rulers in their own right and in their own domain, whenever the supreme ruler showed signs of weakness. Authority and power were respected by them only so long as they continued to be so in fact. The state to them was a person not an idea. The notion that public servants must obey the supreme government, whether its representative was strong or weak, was absolutely foreign to them. Weakness, they thought, was the one unpardonable sin of rulers.

In a subordinate capacity the sultan's viceroy was the commander of the army, chief judge in criminal matters, and the source of honor and authority in the province. His authority was limited by the sultan's right or rather power to recall him, by the right of appeal to the supreme ruler which could not always be realized, and by the existence in the province of certain officials appointed by and directly subordinate to the sultan. The revenue officials, known variously as Diwans or Nizams or Shikhdars, who collected the revenue or tribute of the province from the Zemindars or collectors of revenue, to whom it was farmed, and who made the imperial disbursements, served as a check upon the tyranny of the provincial governor.

An additional obstacle to provincial tyranny, as in the empire of Darius, was found in the official spies who were employed on a large scale by the most efficient of the sultans of Delhi. In Ghiasudin Balban's time (1266-1287), spies were used to watch the fiefs of nobles as well as great cities and important and distant towns. Allaudin employed the spy system on such an extensive scale that no one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles or of great men and officials was immediately communicated to the sultan. The Moguls employed public and secret news writers or reporters. Aurangazib's spies, it was said, used to know even the thoughts of men.

It is possible that many of these spies were mere official reporters, like the scribe or royal secretary who according to Herodotus was set to watch over the Persian satrap. In fact, in the later Mogul times, we find two kinds of reporters, the *Wakiahnavis*, who were public, and *Khufyananavis*, who were secret reporters. But there is no doubt that many of these reporters were spies, pure and simple. These reporters or spies were the eyes and ears of the sultan.

The existence of provincial officers like the Fouzdar, who was the judge of the court of crimes, the Kotwal, who was the head of the police, and Kazi, the civil judge, might be thought to have detracted from the Subhedar's vast authority. But, thanks to a kind of spoils system which obtained even under Akbar's regime, provincial governors had the right *de facto*, if not *de jure*, of appointing and dismissing these subordinate provincial officials, so that the multiplicity and diversity of offices was rather a help than a check to the rapacity of the governors. The imperial financial and revenue officials saw only to the collection and remittance of the imperial revenue.

The danger of adverse reports from spies or reporters was extreme, and by that very token precarious; because it was not every sultan that could take action on these reports, and the reports of spies were valueless except to put a stop to crying evils and to inflict the supreme punishment.

The existence in a Subha, or province of Mogul India, of important feudatory native rajahs with their semisovereign powers, and of important Zemindars and Talukdars, originally farmers of the imperial revenue but with a kind of seignorial jurisdiction over the people who once paid them the sultan's taxes, though now become their tenants and dependents, was also a rift in the lute of satrapial despotism. But within these limits, as a rule, and in the reigns of the easygoing sultans who indeed fill the longest



stretch of the Moslem period, the provincial satraps were their own masters.

The appointment of the governors of the provinces was one of the chief worries of the sultans of Moslem India. The selection of able and energetic men, while a blessing for the provincials, might jeopardize the Padshah's sovereignty. If they sent incompetent representatives, there was the danger of the provinces rising against their rulers and winning back their independence. The most dangerous provincial governors were the near relatives, especially the brothers or sons of the sultan. The system of distributing appanages to the sons of the reigning sultan was one of the chief causes of the anarchy that distracted the reigns of even the most fortunate of the Mogul padshahs.

Even Aurangazib, who of all people ought to have known better, made a will dividing his kingdom among his four sons, thus bequeathing to his successors the troubles which only he could ride and direct. But Aurangazib at least had the statesmanship to direct that a noble should not be sent as governor to a province where his own estates were placed. And in Moslem India the tenure under which the governors held their offices never developed into feudalism proper, because the sultan, being the absolute owner of all land and property, the governorships or satrapies could never become hereditary — as long as the central government at Delhi was strong and vigorous.

Yet in Moslem India there was never any ordinary subordination of local governments to the central government. Sultans and padshahs could punish local governors as they pleased, but this supervision was fitful, never continuous, never organized. The obedience of the provincial officials seemed to vary in inverse ratio to their distance from the headquarters of the sultan. Of course, the delations of the sultan's reporters and spies might have served as a check

upon provincial tyranny, but, as we have said, they were effective only as a remedy for the worst and the most intolerable forms of misrule. The sword of Damocles may be a potent check upon evil conduct, but its very efficacy and the dramatic quality of its use prevent it from being an ordinary instrument of correction.

The best among the Turkish rulers tried to correct the abuses of provincial governments by sending circulars or rescripts to regulate the conduct of the governors. What Badauni relates of Islam Shah (1545-1557) was done, to a greater or less extent, by the best of the Delhi sultans. Circular orders, he says, were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal in all their most minute bearings and containing rules and regulations which concerned not only the army but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as a guide to the officers of the state.

But how far were these imperial rescripts or decrees effective? What were the means of bringing delinquents to book? The provincial satraps with their vast powers, the troops at their disposal, the provincial officers under their thumbs, were a power unto themselves and could afford to flout the authority of their sovereigns. And the punishment of disobedient governors involved very often a military expedition. Their authority and powers were too general, too undefined, too great to be controlled in any effective manner by the central government. It was not so much misgovernment as want of government that was the crying defect of Turkish rule in India.

The hold of the supreme power upon the local governments was only a sample of the general looseness of the Delhi administration. Short shrift, one would have thought, would be the most effective way of dealing with rebels. Aurangazib, Khafi Khan complains, would not make use of

punishment, and without punishment, as the chronicler reminds us, the government of a country cannot be carried on.

Even Akbar would allow his emotions to run away with him, and many a guilty plotter and rebel found grace in his eyes. While killing Adham Khan on the spot for a murder, he forgave his fellow conspirators, winked at their offenses, and even reinstated them in their offices. On another occasion, Akbar having ordered a man's head to be cut off, let him escape with a mere exposure to public derision, simply because the sword used in the operation broke with the blow without doing the culprit any harm. Again at another time, for someone's sake, he forgave certain rebels their offenses although he was not satisfied that they would remain faithful. Sometimes he was not above resorting to childish punishments. He once punished a murderer by having him well thrashed, put into a boat, soused several times in the river, and finally imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. He had Kwaja Mansur hurriedly executed for treason on the evidence of letters discovered to be forgeries soon after the poor man's death, and the padshah duly regretted the execution.

These incidents of Akbar's life may evoke our admiration for the man, but we doubt whether they conduce to respect for the statesman. They certainly would lead us to suspect whether after all his statesmanship has not been exaggerated. And, therefore, it may not be amiss here to examine the claims that have been made by historians and tradition to Akbar's supreme greatness as a statesman.

#### 11. AKBAR NOT UNIQUE AS MOSLEM RULER

It may be heresy in this day to question Akbar's claim to statesmanship, but all that I have found courage enough to do is to doubt his originality as a statesman. Akbar was not unique among the Moslem rulers of India. He was a

great ruler, but there were just as great rulers of Delhi before him and after him. Almost every one of the reforms which are his titles to originality was anticipated in the reigns of his great predecessors. Akbar was a plagiarist in statesmanship. At any rate he was not the only begetter of his reforms in administration; others had anticipated him.

The regulation by which Akbar hoped to prevent the frauds of mansubdars in supplying their levies had been already tried by Sher Shah. The payment for military and other services in money in lieu of lands was not an innovation of Akbar but a safeguard which had been thought of by Allaudin and Islam Shah. The famous land reforms of Akbar, which comprised the measurement of the agricultural fields and the fixed and regular assessments on the crops, were only repetitions with some improvements of Firoz Shah Taglak's and Sher Shah's devices for insuring a regular revenue.

Sher Shah, the Afghan, indeed had a genius for administration. He kept subordinate chiefs under control, reformed the land revenue administration to serve as the model for later rulers, built great trunk roads, furnished with inns, wells, and other conveniences for the traveler. He lived according to his maxim, "It behooves the great to be always active." Sher Shah also showed Akbar the way to a tolerant treatment of Hindu subjects and to those material improvements like construction of trunk roads, caravansaries, and canals which from the impression we receive from the run of historians, would be the peculiar results of Akbar's magnanimous statesmanship.

Akbar introduced no changes in the provincial administration which had not been the invention of his great predecessor. The Shikhdar, the Treasurer, the Karkun of Sher Shah, who were appointed as checks on the power of the provincial amirs, correspond to the Dewan, the Amalguzar, and other revenue and financial officials appointed by Akbar.

Sher Shah it must be remembered was a near predecessor of Akbar and the memory of his works and the assistance of his officials could always be drawn upon by a clever successor. It is indeed time that justice was done to the man who has a higher claim to originality of invention, albeit less fortunate in his time and in his chroniclers, than he who only entered into and built upon the legacy of another. The historical fame and position of Akbar is indeed one of the mysteries of history. An attempt at explaining it will be made when we come to consider the religious history of the Turkish rulers of India and the tolerance of Akbar, which is indeed the chief prop of the popular Akbar cult.

The unoriginality of Akbar's statesmanship ought to prepare us for one of the saddest features of the Turkish regime, namely the absence of continuity in the administration. Reforms in the administration undertaken by a ruler had to be repeated by successors even at a short remove. We have seen how the land and Mansubdar reforms of Akbar had been tried by Sher Shah. The shrewd reform of Allaudin to pay for services in money never took root. Firoz Shah Taglak came and reverted to the older practice of assigning lands as remuneration for official services. It may be that these reforms had to be repeated because of the changes in dynasties. But even members of the same dynasty worked at cross-purposes. Everything depended on the likes of the sultan and lasted only as long as it attracted him. Everything, therefore, had to be done *de novo* by sultan after sultan. There was no continuity in the administration even during the rule of a single dynasty. Mansubdars and other office holders had to be confirmed at the end of every reign, and it was considered a great favor if that was done.

Besides the looseness of the government there were other features of the Delhi administration which attested its back-

wardness. The confounding of the palace with the state is a frequent characteristic of primitive governments. The officials of the central administration at Delhi were often the household servants of the sultan. In the reign of Firoz Shah we find the official of the state exchequer, the Diwan-i-Wizarat, keeping an account not only of the land revenue but of the expenditure of the palace karkhanas. Akbar's prime minister was also the head of his kitchen.

The giving of presents to officials for the easy and rapid conduct of business has been called hard names by Christian travelers and modern historians. But it is doubtful whether they could equal the bribery and corruption of more civilized and sophisticated states. These presents, it must be remembered, were given in public and even to the sultan himself. The Great Mogul, it came to the notice of Montesquieu, never received the petitions of his subjects if they came with empty hands. The presents were probably a kind of crude, primitive registration fee. The danger lay not so much in their character, as in the fact that they were not regulated. The greed of the official and the ability of the subject to pay set the only limits on the amount of these official douceurs. Their universality and recognized legality explain the force and virulence of the habit in modern India, and the *mamool* accepted as lawful for a thousand years cannot be expected to surrender of a sudden to the attacks of a superior administrative morality.

## 12. NOMADISM IN TURKISH RULE

The nomadism of the Turkish rule is especially seen in the part played by camp life in the administration. The sultan and his satraps seemed to be always on the move. And this, not only in the earlier, unsettled times, but in the very reigns of the more established of the Mogul rulers, in the reigns say of Akbar and Jahangir. Nor was it done only

for purposes of war but for those of administration. The tent is the natural home of the nomad, and it is not surprising that he loved to govern from this. It was an important instrument of government, as well as one of the chief insignia of royalty.

Nomadic also was the frequent change of capital. The moving of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad has arrested the attention of historians, as if it had been something unusual and peculiar to the character of Mahomad Taglak — a sultan, it must be confessed, who has been more sinned against than sinning. But steadier heads than Mahomad Taglak's planned arbitrary changes of capital in Moslem India. Delhi and Agra were indeed alternative capitals throughout the Turkish period, as were Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis in the case of the ancient Persians. But other cities also shared the honor. Jaunpur and Lahore were, for a time, the capitals of Akbar's dominions. Even the futile attempt of Taglak at founding the unfortunate but romantic and palace-crowned city of Fatehpur Sikri was imitated by Akbar. Sher Shah, finding that old Delhi was far from the river Jumna, demolished it and founded a new city on the banks of that river. The seven cities of Delhi were not the outcome of the historical development of a great city but the monumental result of the vagaries of rulers cursed with the fever of restlessness.

There is yet another feature of nomadic government which we find reproduced in the Turkish administration, and that is the large place filled in it by members of the conquered and subject peoples. As the secretaries and scribes of Attila were renegade Greeks and Romans, and the most famous viziers of the Turkish empire, like Ibrahim Ali and Rustum Pasha — the ministers of Solyman the Magnificent — were circumcised and "converted" Christians, so the officials of the Delhi administration were mostly

Hindus, or if Mahometans, then of Hindu origin. Here also, as in other matters, Akbar did nothing unique in giving his confidence to Hindu ministers.

Ever since the work of Savigny it has been one of the commonplaces of legal science that law, just as much as language, manners, and politics, is the expression of the life and character of a people. And of all the branches of human activity, in none have the Turks in India borne to a larger extent the mark of their original character than in their law. It was the criterion as well as the consequence of their culture. In the various aspects of the life led in law by the Turkish conquerors of India, the chief characteristics of their imperfect civilization were illustrated.

Most nomad people are polygamous. The existence of this almost universal practice has been accounted for by various causes. Montesquieu attributed it to climate and economic utility, but this would not account for the prevalence of the custom among the nomads of different countries and at different stages, among the rich and the poor, among the Bedouin of North Africa, as among the Tartars of central Asia. The fact seems to be that the nomad looks upon woman, not as a personality, but as property. She is not a being, but a material thing to be owned and handled like other material things. Necessary to man in his sexual life, she is the form in which the idea of property is first introduced to him. That accounts for the rich man adding to the number of his women, and for the poor man having only as many as he can support. That accounts also for the immuring of the women common among nomads. Being property that might be coveted by others, and appealing to instincts more imperious than even the instinct of property, women must be covered up and protected against the gaze of other men. It was not so much any extraordinary sensuality or wickedness that dictated the polygamy and the purdah of the Turkish conquerors of India. If it was a matter



of mere lust, they would have substituted prostitution for polygamy, like the more civilized monogamous races. But woman is one of the means by which the nomad realizes his instinct for property, and Moslems in India did not rise above this tribal idea.

### 13. MOSLEM LAND TENURE

On no part of the legal system of the nomad does his semicivilization impress itself more than on his attitude to property. The nomad believes only in movable property, that which he can carry with him in his wanderings. He cannot carry land with him, and therefore he cannot conceive of individual property in land. The only proprietary right in land that he is advanced enough to accept is the joint property of the whole tribe or horde in its pasture fields. It was this ancestral view of communal or joint property that in the course of time developed into the theory that the nomadic chief or sovereign was the sole owner or proprietor of all lands conquered by his hordes. The communal property of the tribe or clan was, so to speak, concentrated and represented as contained in the hands of its chief. This denial of individual property in land was sometimes extended to even movable property.

The Delhi sultans were only true to their traditions when they claimed to be the only absolute owners of property in their realms. Others were owners of property by sufferance or despite. It was especially in their abrogation of individual property in land that the Turkish rulers of India worked a social revolution, bigger with consequences than any other of their political acts. It was they that introduced into India this theory that the ruler or the state was the supreme proprietor of land, the supreme landowner in the country. India before them knew of no such theory of the proprietary rights of the state. Ownership, whether of individuals, families, corporations, or guilds, was recognized.

The state in Hindu India was never the proprietary octopus that it was in Moslem India. Manu recognized the right of ownership on the part of the man who clears a forest in the land of that forest. He places his ownership on the same footing as that a man was said to have in the deer which he kills, which must be absolute if it is to have any meaning at all. Stealing land, he says, is equal to stealing gold. The heirs of a man inherit land as well as the rest of his estate, without any reference to the ruler or state. It is only on the failure of all heirs that the property, land not excluded, of any man except a Brahmin can accrue to the king. And in the case of a Brahmin not even that. The rules of partition apply to land as well as to other forms of property. Seizure of property, Manu declares, is one of the three most pernicious vices produced by the wrath of the king and which he must carefully shun.

The *Arthasastra* tells of some instances of limited proprietorship in land and of estates which were inalienable, but the implication is that, as a rule, land was held in absolute private proprietorship. Of course, land in ancient India was subject to taxation like other forms of property. But taxability of land was never construed into the state proprietorship. The king as representative of the sovereignty of the state may have had, and exercised in the last resort and in extreme cases, the right of confiscating or alienating land; but this he did as sovereign, not as landlord. The state in Hindu India was never the chief landlord, the particular owners of lands being only its tenants, paying it a rent and depending for continuance on their right of possession on its will. It was with the coming of the Turks that the new and revolutionary theory of state proprietorship of all land came to be introduced into India.

The nomadic conqueror, as we have said, gathers into his keeping the ancient tribal ownership of all lands conquered by the horde. The ancient Persians looked upon the whole

of Asia as their and their king's own property. This tribal law has been consecrated and perpetuated by the Koran according to which all the property of the conquered becomes the property of the conquerors, the erstwhile owners becoming mere farmers or tenants and the supreme ruler, the khalif or sultan, becoming the supreme landowner. It was so in Turkey, it was so in Moslem India.

After the capture of Rantambhor, in 1299, Allaudin ordered with one stroke of the pen that wherever there was a village held by proprietary right (*milk*), in free gift (*inam*), or as religious endowment (*wakf*), it should be brought under the exchequer, that is, it should be converted into a state tenancy. Sher Shah put the case as it was in India when he said: "The country of India is completely at the disposal of the king, nor has anyone else any share in it, nor is there any regard to elder or younger or to kindred." Even under Akbar orders were passed that the rent-free lands throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of *aima* or *madad-i-ma'ash* (i.e., lands held on the tenure of prayer offerings), *wakfs* or pensions, should not be considered valid, and that the revenue officers should not recognize them until the Sadr had approved the grants. Badaoni, who is our authority for this fact, adds that only the influential and bribe givers succeeded in getting their *inams* confirmed.

Whatever rights of property there were had to be confirmed at the beginning of every reign. Jahangir indeed tried to improve this state of things by decreeing that property, whether of infidels or Mussulmans, should be allowed to descend in the ordinary course of inheritance without interference from the officers of the state. But how valueless this reform was is proved by the fact that Aurangazib had again to abolish the custom of confiscating the estates of deceased subjects, which, he says, was constantly practiced in the time of his predecessors. Aurangazib himself issued

orders, however, that everyone in Hindustan who owned a house or garden must produce his deeds. It was to see whether they all held under a *firman* or rescript, for no one could hold any such property without a confirmation and a grant in writing. It was Aurangazib also who confiscated the properties of Ali Mardan Khan and Raja Jai Singh, although the latter was granted this property in perpetuity by Shah Jahan.

The evidence of native chroniclers, as well as of foreign travelers, goes to confirm the conclusion of Bernier that in Moslem India, as in Turkey and Persia, "they had no idea of the principle of *meum* and *tuum*, relatively to land or other real possessions, having lost that respect for property which is the basis of all that is good and useful in the world." The concentration of all rights to property in land in the hands of the Delhi sultan, which made him the supreme landlord, accounts for the pressure of the state upon land and the benevolent interference with land of the best of them like Sher Shah and Akbar.

The surveys and settlements, the assessment and valuation of crops which necessitated the coming down to the countryside of an army of officials were the fruits of the theory of the state ownership of land. This insistent pressure on the land and the country people was no doubt only an extension of the practice followed in Hindu times on the domain lands of the king. With the adoption of the principle that the ruler was the owner of all land, all the rights and duties of a landlord came to be laid upon the state. The state began to be governed as if it were an estate. A more efficient government than that of the Delhi sultans might have played its part better. But as a matter of fact, the post of universal landlord was too large a commitment for the Delhi sultans.

The cavalier attitude of these sovereigns to real property

was sometimes extended to even personal or movable property. Sikhander Lodi (1492-1517) passed a degree that if a noble died, his money and other effects should be divided among his heirs according to the rules of inheritance. Sher Shah was obliged to order that merchants dying on their journey should not be deprived of their goods by the provincials, as if they were unowned. And European travelers of the times of the Moguls allude to the practice of provincial governors confiscating the effects even of deceased foreigners. The fact is that even in the case of movable property, it was not the right to possess, but the fact of possession that was recognized. In Moslem India, the sense of property was not highly developed. As the nobles of Firoz Shah said to him, the offenses against property were only venial, while those against authority were grave, and while the latter may never be forgiven, the former might be excused.

Commercial life was also very simple. Buying and selling were the only kinds of contract recognized. The more considerable and developed commercial devices that we hear of in Moslem India, like the *hundis* and paper money, were borrowed from the Hindus. The Moslem prohibition of interest, like that of the Middle Ages, dates from a time when present-day financial and industrial conditions did not exist, and the theory persisted among the ruling race in India.

#### 14. PRIMITIVE CHARACTER OF CRIMINAL LAW

Not only in civil but in criminal law, Moslem society proved its primitive character. It is with the progress of civilization that the number and the classes of crimes increase. Crimes the Moslem rulers recognized were few in number and not the same as among more advanced peoples. Adultery, possible only among free men and women, was comparatively unknown in Mahometan India on account

of the restraints of polygamy and the purdah. Theft was indeed a crime, but not so severely punished as among more industrial societies.

The distinction between civil and criminal courts did not obtain in Moslem India. The sultan was the font of justice, and he dealt it out either in person or through his deputies. The padshah, sitting at a window of his palace, ready to render justice to all and sundry, is no doubt a pleasing picture, but its simplicity is its condemnation. What Akbar and Jahangir did at Delhi, Attila the Hun used to do in his capital at his palace gates, and Bedouin chiefs and central Asian Khans do the same to this day before their tents. The sultan delegated his judicial powers to a chief judge, called in Mogul times the Sadar-i-Jahan, and in the provinces it was the kazi who was the chief judge. A naïve confusion between the offices of judge, magistrate, and superintendent of police prevailed. The kazi was judge in civil, as well as criminal matters; the kotwal was police officer, as well as magistrate; the fouzdar was invested with police duties, as well as criminal magisterial jurisdiction.

The procedure in civil, as well as criminal, courts was as simple as possible. In civil cases the plaintiff went up to the sultan or to the kazi, cried for justice, offered some money as a kind of registration fee, stated his case, and after witnesses were heard and other evidence had been examined — everything being done according to the pleasure of the judge — received justice according to his luck. In criminal cases a similar procedure was followed, although with the kotwal as prosecutor the procedure was shorter and sharper than in civil matters. The proceedings on the murder of Prince Murad Baksh, the unfortunate brother of Aurangazib, would seem to prove that even prosecutions for murder were private, not public, and therefore could be waived by the aggrieved party. But in the matters of crime the catching of the criminal was a more important

and a more difficult proceeding than his trial. Regular expeditions had to be organized before influential criminals could be caught and brought to trial. In Aurangazib's reign a Pathan criminal braved the imperial forces of 12,000 men who had to retreat before his attacks more than once before he was put to death.

Trial on the spot was a favorite judicial device with the Delhi sultans. In Shah Jahan's time, the local authorities were recommended to try offenders on the spot where they had committed their offenses. Aurangazib is said to have been responsible for the legal maxim: "Cases about land should be tried on the land itself." In criminal matters a kind of communal responsibility was sometimes enforced, as by Sher Shah when he made the village mukadams (officials) answer, even with their heads, for the crimes proved to have taken place within their villages.

The punishments employed by the Turkish rulers of India were not free from the defects of primitive crudeness. Some of the best of the Delhi sultans were savage in the forms of punishment to which they resorted. Babar, on the occasion of an attempt to poison him, ordered his taster to be cut to pieces, the cook to be flayed alive, and the scullions of the kitchen to be trampled to death by elephants. Adham Khan was not the only criminal punished in hot blood by Akbar. The same fate befell a man named Mard Azmai Ashak whom Akbar struck with a spear when he was caught and brought before the padshah. The savage sentence passed by him upon a luckless lamplighter is well known. Even the soft-mannered Jahangir once had the chief of a gang of thieves torn to pieces by dogs although he issued a decree forbidding the cutting off of the noses and ears of criminals.

The old tribal ideas of retaliation and private revenge still persisted in Mogul times. Akbar himself confessed that he had recourse to the retaliatory punishment in his conduct

toward Adham Khan. In the case of the murder of Prince Murad Baksh, Khafi Khan relates that the eldest son refused to demand satisfaction for his father's death and Aurangazib rewarded the son for not enforcing his claim of blood. A kind of wergild money payment as atoning for murder was recognized in the time of Akbar, and the murderer became the slave of the man who had paid to make good for the murder.

In spite of the code of law which the Koran gave Moslem India and the decrees passed by sultan after sultan, it was the individual will of the sultan and governor that reigned supreme. The tribal love of animal freedom and hatred of discipline made the reign of law difficult if not impossible. Not public law, but the caprices, albeit noble and generous, of the ruler governed the legal relations of men. Allaudin was only giving expression to a general belief when he laid it down that all questions must be looked at from the point of view of politics and not of law.

#### 15. TAXES CONCEIVED AS RENT FOR LAND

Since the Delhi sultan was the sole proprietor of everything belonging to his subjects, the latter held whatever property they were allowed to hold as his tenants, or usufructuaries. Hence, it cannot accurately be said that there was any system of taxation in the Turkish state in India. Taxes in politically advanced countries are payments made by the people for the maintenance of the state. But here, the payments made by the subjects of the Turkish conquerors were rather rents paid on the property which they were allowed to use. They were a tribute rather than taxes. And this tribute was chiefly composed of a rent on land which till then in Hindu India had only paid a tax.

Besides this tribute from the subject Hindus, the members of the ruling race paid a kind of tithe, called *ooshr*, in accordance with the injunctions of the Koran. There were



other primitive sources of revenue, such as presents or benevolences. Supplies of provisions to the sultan or to his satraps on their marches or on their incessant progresses through the country were officially recognized, and so another incident of British Indian administration is explained. The poll tax levied on Hindus, called the *Jaziya*, which had had its counterpart in the Turkish empire, although primitive, was not felt to be oppressive. The price for the payment of this tax was religious liberty for the Hindu, and there have been heavier prices to pay for toleration than a special tax.

The collection of these revenues also was primitive. They were farmed out in the first place to the provincial satraps who in their turn farmed them to zemindars and talukdars. But this practice was abolished by Akbar, thanks to his Hindu revenue minister, Todar Mall. The other source of revenue that we find, especially in Mogul India, such as customs' duties, octroi duties, tolls, and harbor dues, were probably taken from the Hindus.

An interesting but difficult question that arises out of the subject of the revenues of the Delhi sultans is the pressure of taxation upon the people. Comparative statistics do not help us in this matter for, after all, the pressure of taxation is to be measured not by the amount of taxes but by the taxable capacity of the people. And that we have no means of judging. All that we can go by is the impression which the condition of the people made upon the travelers of those times. And the impression taken from their accounts is not so much of the weight as of the uncertainty and irregularity of the demands made upon the people by the sultan and his governors. The hopelessness of the people arose from other causes than from heavy taxation; at any rate it was not so much the incidence as the object of the taxation that made it seem, and at certain periods, actually be, oppressive.

The main object of the financial system of the Turkish regime, as of the ancient Persians, was to make the subject people support the life and the luxury of the ruler and his court. The accumulation of treasure was a powerful motive with many of the Delhi sultans, Akbar included. Not the requirements of the state, but the needs of the palace settled the limits of taxation. A few of the greater sultans, men like Firoz Shah, Sher Shah, and Akbar, spent some of the money of the people on public works like trunk roads, canals, and tanks; but the majority of the good sultans poured what they did not spend on themselves into the building fund of such costly magnificences as the Kutub Minar, Fatehpur Sikri, and the Taj Mahal.

#### 16. HOMES A REFLECTION OF TENT

Since all parts of life hold together, we shall find the features of one reflected in another. Public and social life are developments of private life, and are conditioned by it. The state is after all a growth and extension of the family, and the character of the social and political life of a country takes body and color from the private life of the nation.

The restlessness, incompleteness, and crudeness of the public life of the Turks in India are to be found also in their homes. Their houses were resting places rather than homes. They were not the things of beauty and comfort that they are among more settled and more civilized peoples. Very few houses, even those of the Mansubdars and Omrahs of the Great Mogul, were built entirely of brick or stone, while the vast majority of the houses were very small, built of mud, and thatched with straw.

The interior of the houses, even of the nobles, corresponded in its simplicity and bareness to their external architecture. There were neither chairs nor tables nor separate rooms for the different uses of domestic life. The

only furniture in the chief room was a cotton mattress over which a fine white cloth was spread during the hot weather and a silk carpet in the cold. Cushions scattered all about the floor of the room completed the appointments. Meals were served on a table cloth spread upon the floor. The same room served as living room by day and as bedroom by night.

The appointments of a medieval Moslem house were the simple appointments of a tent. In fact, the tent, his first living place, has laid its impress on his whole domestic life. Even in Mogul times the Omrahs and other noblemen used to spend a great part of the year in tents, except for the wet weather, moving them from place to place. The life of the Turks in India has always been the simple picniclike camp life that suits the wandering existence of their ancient home. They did not cumber themselves with the conveniences of civilization. They were not used to sitting on chairs but on the floor, on carpets with pillows or cushions to lean against. They ate not at a table but on the floor, just as one would at a picnic; and the habit of eating from one common plate or dish, however disagreeable to sophisticated tastes, was natural in the midst of the equality and fraternity of central Asiatic tribes.

The secluded zenana life of Moslem women may also be interpreted as a result of life in tents. When all the privacy that men could obtain was the insecure and incomplete privacy of a tent, it was only natural and necessary that woman should be covered and hidden as much as possible, her face veiled and her corner in the tent screened from the rest of it by curtains or purdahs.

The influence of the tent hung over even the Mogul padshahs. The visitor to the palaces of the Great Mogul at Delhi, Agra, or Fatehpur Sikri must be struck by the quaint simplicity of the rooms and of their appointments. One room like another, the private apartments of the same

nature, if not of the same dimensions and magnificence as the public halls, the rooms like the courtyards but for the roofs over the former, and the fountains in the latter — one wonders what kind of homes these were in which the Mogul padshahs lived and what kind of privacy they could have obtained in them.

The furniture was composed of the divan and the pillows and cushions of the tent, only more costly. Their Durbar halls, with their flat ceilings, their polelike pillars and their arches which look like hangings in stone or marble resemble nothing so much as that ceremonial tent, the shamiana. The throne of the padshah was not, strictly speaking, a throne but a divan in stone or marble, on which the padshah squatted or reposed. In the Agra palace, there is a huge stone bath placed plumb in the middle of a public courtyard and open to the sky in which the padshah is said to have performed his ablutions — as one might under the fly of a tent. The gosal khanah was also the room of private audience. The bathrooms that we find in the palaces were probably meant only for the elaborate Turkish bath. The only rooms which seem to have enjoyed any privacy were the apartments of the women. The amount of open space in the shape of courtyards and quadrangles makes us wonder whether the rooms were not mere appendages to them.

As in the inner appointments and shape of the rooms the simplicity of the tent had been imitated, so also in the arrangement of the various buildings within the palace the dispositions of a camp might be detected. The camp bazaars intruded into the palaces at Agra or Delhi. Shamianas and tents were pitched in various parts of the palace precincts for the accommodation of nobles and officials. The very stables at Fatehpur Sikri are placed in the palace itself and form its largest quadrangle. In outward appearance, as well as in internal arrangements, the palaces of the Moguls are tents or camps in stone or marble.

In the internal government of the Mogul's dwelling place, also, the insecurity and confusion of the life in tents were illustrated. The women, indeed, were kept in the straight path of virtue by the surveillance of eunuchs, but the rest of the house seems to have got on somehow. One of the strangest features of Turkish domestic life was the haphazard way in which children were brought up. Parents seemed to conduct themselves toward their children on the hypothesis that it was impossible and useless for them to try to form their character. Mahomad of Ghazni's surprising opinion that sons are not worth the parent's little finger, and that if on the contrary any son should be found who was worth the parent's care he would be one of the marvels and wonders of the time, was at least the silent conviction of many of the Turkish sultans. Very few of them placed any trust in their children. The education that they imparted to them was mainly military and literary instruction. Even the best of them would not subject their son's characters to the beneficial influences of discipline. Akbar resented the adverse reports sent by Abul Fazal against his son, Salim, and punished the honest tutor by relieving him of his offices and honors.

From the houses, the influence of the tent and the camp spread to the towns and cities of the Turks. Delhi and Agra, when Bernier visited them, looked like camps, only their lodgings and accommodations were not a little superior to those found in the camps of armies. The fort was at one end with the sultan's palace in it and commanding the rest of the city; two principal streets crossed each other in front of the palace, in one of which was placed the city bazaar, the Jama Masjid, the chief mosque of the city. Such were the principal features of either capital of the Moguls.

Another important center of the life of the city was the Sarai, half hotel, half warehouse, and a meeting place

for the merchants and traders brought by the lure of gain to the capital. But besides these public buildings and the houses of a few nobles, the greater cities of Mogul India were very mean places. In Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur, and Ajmere, the houses of people other than the sultan and the wealthiest nobles were built of mud or clay, not one as large as a cottage in the Hounslow Heath of Sir T. Roe's time.

#### 17. RESTRICTED POLITICAL UNITY AND INDUSTRY

The unity of Moslem society in India was founded on the equality preached by Islam and on the reminiscences of its ancient history in the plains of central Asia. But it was brought home to the Moslem and translated into practice only on a few, more or less, formal occasions: at prayers in the mosque, at the feasts or banquets on the occasion of marriages, and at the none too frequent religious festivals of Islam. The unity and solidarity of the people were not instilled into them and did not become part of their very lives, because they were not presented to them in concrete institutions, like the guilds and mysteries of the Middle Ages. It was a frail thread that kept the Moslems in India together.

Although the Shiite heresy did not obtain a stronghold in northern India as it did in the Dekhan, yet there were dissensions among the Sunnis themselves. The Afghan, the Mogul, the Deccani, the Persian, and the Gujarat Moslems were jealous of, and found it difficult to coalesce with, one another. The caste system of the Hindus laid its baleful hands even upon the Moslems. When Manucci visited India in the seventeenth century he found that Pathans would not intermarry with Moguls. And Akbar, prompted probably by the instinct of self-preservation, is said to have bequeathed to his descendants the policy that Pathans should not be appointed governors and should not receive more

than 400,000 rupees a year, and should be employed only as soldiers.

Not the least of the causes of the impermanence and vicissitudes of so many of the Moslem dynasties was the lack of a practical and real solidarity among the classes of Mohammedan society. The Afghan Khiljis overthrew the Slave dynasty of Turks. The Arab Sayids of the fifteenth century had to give way before an Afghan family, the Lodis, and the Lodis, unsupported by other Afghans, were overthrown by Babar and his Moguls. Sher Shah, the greatest of the Afghans, if not the greatest of all the Moslem rulers of India, had to fight uphill against the enmity of the Lohani Afghans and the Moguls. The unity of Moslem society did not go far enough and deep enough. It was too simple to last long. The real union of a society or of a polity is the union of complexities, not the union of simplicity which goes down like a house of cards before a breath of wind.

It would hardly be fair to expect much industrial activity among the Turkish ruling race. The business of war and government absorbed the lives of most of them. And for the rest the limitations of their society were a permanent bar to their cultivation of industries. Moslem society had not that division of classes and of labor which is so necessary for industrial progress. It had not even the iron-bound organization which in a neighboring society and a surrounding civilization made some industrial activity, albeit of a stereotyped nature, possible. Moslem society was too simple for industrial activity. The nomad contempt for a settled and laborious life and the contempt of a military caste for manual labor also contributed to the neglect of industry among Moslems.

Most of the industries which made the manufacturers of India famous in the markets of medieval and renaissance Europe were in the hands of the native Hindus. The muslins

of Dacca, the shawls of Kashmir, the embroideries of Delhi and Agra were mostly made by Hindus. But even they had to fight against odds. The absolute despotism of the Delhi sultan, which gave individual property so precarious a tenure, made industrial progress difficult if not impossible. The right to all property of the Delhi padshah, and, when his power weakened, of the provincial satraps, strangled agriculture and emasculated industry. Artisans and manufacturers were conspicuous by their absence at Delhi and Agra in the time of the Great Mogul.

The patronage of the Delhi court was a powerful incentive to industry, but the very dependence of industries on the Mogul courts proved in the long run to be a disservice to them, because as soon as their only patron, the Mogul court, decayed they also disappeared. The volume of industry depends on the continuous and widespread demand of the many, not on the concentrated demand of a few. It was not Lancashire or the East India Company, so much as the decay and ruin of the Mogul courts, that killed the Dacca muslins.

There was one industry, however, in which the Moslems of those times excelled, and that was the carrying trade. The horses of Turkestan, the plums of Bokhara, the melons of Badakshan, and the grapes of Kabul were brought to Mogul cities mainly by Afghan caravans. And the sea-borne trade of India, with the West as well as with the Far East, was in the hands of Arab traders before the Portuguese came to oust them from the seas. If in the market places of medieval Bruges, Augsburg, or the Hansa towns, or in the marts of Venice and Constantinople, the silks, cottons, and pepper of India were to be found it was chiefly due to those intrepid nomads of the sea, the Arab sailors and traders of Turkish India.

The life of the sailor and the carrier is so akin to that of the nomad that it is not surprising to see the Moslems



of that period playing a large part in the naval and maritime activity of those times. The naval prowess of the Arab sailor was acknowledged in victory and in defeat by the pirates of the west coast, as well as by his supplanters, the Portuguese. The patronage extended to sailors and traders by the sultans of Gujarat justified their title of lords of the sea. Naval administration indeed formed an important branch of Akbar's government, but the naval actions of the Moguls were mostly river engagements.

Aurangazib was of opinion that the sea was no stage for the activity of his people; but even here, in matters of commerce and trade, we see the casualness of Turkish rule. While in theory a general commercial tolerance was professed, and firmans, or permits, to trade were given for the mere asking, in practice individual foreign traders had to bribe their way to markets and the right to buy and sell. The Delhi sultans would not declare themselves either for a frankly downright barring and bolting against foreign traders or for a thoroughgoing and practical freedom of trade which would be respected by governors as well as by subjects. Here again, as in the rest of their administration, they spent the days of their rule letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would."

## 18. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

No part of a people's activity springs more directly from its life than its art, and of all the arts that which is the most intimately connected with life and the most profoundly modified by it is architecture. A great critic has said: "Architecture is life's own art, that art which life pours itself into most freely, the art therefore which holds most life and from which most life can be extracted."<sup>4</sup> If that is so — and unless the architecture of a people is only the plaything of its idle hour it must be so — one must

<sup>4</sup> Philips: *Works of Man*.

expect to find in Moslem architecture in India a true and faithful expression of the thoughts and ideals of the men who built it, or rather who caused it to be built. For it was Hindu masons and Hindu architects who built the mosques, the forts, and the palaces of the Turkish rulers of Delhi. But though the hands that built were Hindu, the minds that designed were Turkish. The strength, the finish, the success we owe to the Hindu. It is in the conception and the design that Moslem architecture was Turkish. And in judging this architecture we must lay stress on the idea, not on the way in which it was carried out.

In its ideas Moslem architecture bears the marks of the life of the men who ordered it to be built. Here also the tent, that absolute necessity in the life of the nomad, has impressed its influence and given him most of his principal architectural ideas. The Moslem cupola seems to be a replica in stone of the peculiar Turkoman tent. In fact some of the domes of mosque or tombs in Turkestan bear out this resemblance much more faithfully than the finished bulbous domes of Mogul architecture. The shamiana, we said, was copied in the durbar hall of the palaces of the Moguls. It has also been reproduced in their mosques.

As the visitor to the Jumna Masjid, at Delhi, stands within its capacious quadrangle and turns his eyes toward the central part of the mosque, the place of prayer, he is struck by the resemblance of the latter to a shamiana. The flat roof, the domes being just put upon it and serving a decorative rather than a constructional purpose, because instead of supporting the roof they are supported by it, the minarets corresponding to the corner poles, and its pillars within supporting the flat roof as if they were so many tent poles lead to that impression. And turning around the mosque he may be reminded of that other necessity of Moslem life, the sarai. The large square with

covered arcaded sides seems to be a copy of the hostel to which the tribal traveler wends his way with his camels and goods, and where he plumps them down in the middle and takes his rest.

Apart from the influence of the tent, there are other features of Moslem life reproduced in Indian Moslem architecture. The writings which spread themselves on the walls and arches of the Moslem buildings, and which produce a grittish effect upon the feelings of the beholder, prove the need of a primitive people for scriptural maxims to be inscribed on the walls of their places of worship. The pierced Saracenic arches seem to be, as March Philips pointed out, matter on which the restlessness of the nomadic fancy has been allowed to play rather than subserving any real structural or architectural purpose. Those gay, laughing arches do not pretend to offer a resistance to the various thrusts and pressures which weigh upon them. Most of them instead of being supports to a wall or a roof are, in fact, supported by the latter. Instead of replacing lintels, these arches stand under them without shame. Therefore they could be as merry and as fantastic as the childish fancies of their builders could make them.

It may be an impious sacrilege to criticize the Taj Mahal, but one may be allowed to question its architectural merits. In the Taj, as in most Mogul buildings, we find recesses that are not recesses, pillars that do not support anything in particular, pavilions which it would require wings to get to, arches which are not arches, or arches within arches, and a glorious confusion between the Hindu and Moslem elements — in a word, decoration and ornament rather than architecture. The Taj may be a gem or jewel in marble but it certainly is not great architecture. The Gol Gombaz at Bijapur is much greater architecture than the Taj. There we have the simplicity, the gravity, the concentration which are the marks of great architecture.

## 19. RELIGION UNDER MOSLEM RULE

The Turkish invaders and rulers of India were in their civilization nomadic, but by religion Mahometan. And as religion exercises a great influence over the private and public life of people, it behooves us to examine and estimate the social and political influence of Islam upon its adherents who were the rulers of India.

The Qur'an is for all followers of Islam not only their sacred scripture but the sum of their law books. And the influence of Islam upon the nomadic peoples who exchanged it for their previous religion, probably Shamanism, though far from ideal, was in many ways decidedly beneficial. The unlimited concubinage of the nomad was restricted by Mahomad to a legal polygamy of only four wives. Marriage with slaves was prohibited and only a free woman could be a legal wife; thus the emancipation of slaves had a powerful motive to quicken it. The despotic claims of the nomadic ruler over private property were checked by the institution of the famous wakfs, which were religious or public endowments free from the sequestrating hands of the civil ruler. The civil and criminal procedure which we find among Moslem peoples and the institution of special judicial officers like the kazis were the temporal gifts of Islam to its converts. Private revenge and self-help and club law, Islam replaced by organized judicial procedure and legal punishments. The political despotism of the supreme civil ruler was checked by certain powers of the spiritual head, as by those of the Sheik-ul-Islam in Turkey.

The Qur'an familiarized its followers with superior legal ideas and practices, brought them into contact with other peoples and other civilizations, and helped to increase their material prosperity. It intensified, if it did not create, a feeling of equality among all its followers. The slave

could not be treated as a mere chattel if he embraced the faith of his master. And many a slave has risen to empire in India, as in Egypt and Turkey. Almsgiving is one of the finest precepts enjoined by the Qur'an, and Mahomad imparted to charity all the force of law. The fifth part of booty taken in wars of religion was set apart for the succor of the poor, the orphan, and the traveler. Hospitals, caravansaries, and schools strewn all over Moslem India were the fine fruits of Islam.

War itself, the most pervasive feature of the Moslem state, when carried on by Moslems against the Catholic nations of Europe, had, indeed, been a supreme danger to all Christian civilization. It was waged with the purpose of converting the world to Islamism by means of the blood-drenched sword. In the Moslem conquests of the tribal peoples of India this aspect was softened. Nor was Islam or death the only alternative offered by the conquering Moslem. The enemies of Islam were allowed one of three things. If they embraced the religion of the victor they were at once admitted to all the privileges of a Moslem. If they refused to be converted but agreed to be loyal subjects, they had to pay a tribute, on which condition they were allowed the free use of their religion and their law. If they were, however, rash enough to attempt the luck of battle, the women and the children were made captives and the men taken with arms in their hands were put to death.

In almost every branch of life Islam has affected the tribal peoples who were converted to it, and has exercised upon them in certain ways a beneficial influence. But the impartial student of history, as he surveys the political and social services of Islam to its converts cannot help exclaiming: "So much, and yet so little." The changes which it introduced into the lives of the nomads were changes in degree rather than in kind. And being a

religion of the book it has stereotyped political and social practices which may have served their time and generation but which have survived their temporal worth and utility. Islam no doubt bridled the concubinage of the primitive tribes but it did not take the tremendous step from polygamy to monogamy. The numbing fatalism of the arid and monotonous life of tribalism has received all the force and sanctity of a religious dogma. The passion for war and the contempt for manual labor, especially agriculture, have not been modified by Islam.

The Turkish invaders and rulers of India, although Moslems to a man, seem to have been indifferent followers of Islam. They do not seem to have been imbued with that thoroughgoing belief in the tenets of Islam which has distinguished the Arabs of history. It was perhaps because they had been converted not in the heyday of Islamic expansion but in its middle-aged languor. Whatever the reason, the Turkish hold on Islam in India was slight.

Practices and habits thoroughly opposed to the injunctions of Islam were popular among the Turkish rulers of India. The superstitions of the surrounding Hindus took hold of them. Even the orthodox Aurangazib offered victims of sacrifice, hung written papers on the heads of elephants and horses for luck, and invoked the aid of astrologers. Wine drinking was an ancestral habit which tyrannized over many a pious Moslem in Turkish India. Babar, indeed, is distinguished in history as a toper among kings and a king among toppers. But he was only one of many. Mahomad of Ghazni, Sabaktagin, Allaudin, Firoz Shah, and Jahangir were as reckless bibblers as Babar. Even Akbar was a great drinker of wine, allowed wine to be drunk by Moslems as a tonic or if prescribed by doctors, and, in fact, permitted a state public house to be established near his palace.

Many of the Turkish rulers were not only deficient in

the practice of their religion but seemed to be lacking in belief in the very fundamentals of Islam. That swordlike formula, "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomat is his prophet," did not always receive ready credence among the sultans of Delhi. The deism and rationalism of Akbar have received a great deal of notice from historians. But there were on the Delhi masnad rationalistic padshahs before Akbar. He was not the first or the only Delhi sultan to think of establishing a new creed. Allaudin anticipated him in that distinction. The Khilji sultan was convinced that, if he was so inclined, he could with the help of four friends establish a new religion and on this subject he used to talk in his wine parties and consult privately with his nobles, just as in later times Akbar used to do in the Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri.

An anecdote related of Humayun shows him to have been an indifferent Mahometan. As this emperor was once riding with his brother they saw a dog defiling a Mahometan tomb upon which the brother piously observed that the man buried there had been a notorious heretic. "Yes," replied Humayun, "and the heart of a dog represents orthodoxy." Humayun has also been reported to have been found assisting at Hindu religious ceremonies and at worship of the sun. Akbar in his tolerant indifferentism was only reverting to type. In his experiments in religion he was only going back to the practices of his Mongol ancestors in whose palaces fetish-worshipping Shamanists, Buddhistic Bonzes, Mahometan Imamas, and Nestorian priests tumbled over one another in ministering to the queer religious appetites of those children in emotions, the Khans of Tartary. Chengiz Khan was as "tolerant" as Akbar.

## 20. CONTRIBUTIONS OF MOSLEM CONQUEST

At the end of this survey of the work of the Moslems in India we are in a position to attempt to sum up their work

for the country of their adoption. When the Moslems began their invasions of India, Hindu society was in a moribund condition. All political virtue seemed to have gone out of the Hindus. They had given up the idea of uniting all India under one strong imperial rule. They were settling themselves into small societies, distinct and rigidly separated from each other, indifferent to when not warring against each other. Caste, the Shastric prohibition of foreign travel, and the defeat of Buddhism had thrown Hindu society into a torpor begotten of self-sufficiency, and debarred it from that quickening intercourse with other peoples and other countries which has been one of the chief causes of the progress of the nations of the world. India was shaken out of her slumber by the invasions of the Moslems.

That great plan of the greatest of Hindu kings, the unification of India under one scepter, was now to be attempted by the sword of the foreign invader. It may be doubted whether the Moslems consciously set before themselves the ideal of uniting India under a common government. They were driven on by the lure of conquest. The subjugation of Badakshan and the ancestral homes of the Moguls was as important to Akbar as the conquest of the Dekhan. But the possibility of conquering the whole of India may be said to have come back into practical politics with the Moslems.

The result of the Mahometan conquests was at all events the strengthening of the organization of the state in India — a development which extended beyond anything that had been done in Hindu India. For the first time an effort was made to rule the whole of India from one single center. A central government now attempted to rule India to its circumference. Orders and decrees were issued from the central to the provincial governments. Provincial governors represented the authority of the central government all over the country. Rents and taxes were the iron chains



that bound the provinces to the capital. The physical force of the state represented by the army operated all over the country. Although the central government was not always or continuously obeyed, it was there all the time. There were kinks in the armor, chinks in the wall, gaps and holes in the building which allowed laxity and inefficiency in the administrative organization of the state; but to have proved the possibility of the political and administrative unity and integration of India, whatever the motive at the time, was among the greatest of the political services of the Moslems to India.

Another great though incidental service the Moslem conquests rendered India was that they brought it into active intercourse with the rest of the world. India was once more brought out of her isolation. The Arab traders by sea, and through the passes of the Afghan frontier now kept open by the Turkish invasions, brought India into intimate commercial and intellectual relations with the West and the Far East. Nomads are the colporteurs of civilization. Like certain birds that carry seeds to and from countries separated by long distances and thus introduce plants into regions which did not know them before, so nomads have carried things and ideas from one distant country to another. In this way, however humble, they too have served the cause of civilization and progress.

Not only the silks and spices of the Far East, and the cottons and precious stuffs and stones of India, but Indian learning and literature were carried to the west by Arab traders and travelers. The scientific lore of the Hindus, their algebra, their astronomy, their medicine were thus introduced to Europe and served to quicken the scientific inquiry of the Middle Ages. The fables of the Panchatantra and the stories of the Arabian Nights, Lassen suggests, thus found their way into Persia and afterward into Europe. The first traveler's tales of India came into Europe only

after the Moslem invasions. The accounts of Arab travelers like Sulaiman, Albiruni, and Ibn Batuta led to the medieval "discovery" of India by the West.

Not only toward the West did India spread out her intellectual conquests. It was through India, by way of India, that Islam spread to the Far East, to the Malay Peninsula, to Java, and to the islands of the Archipelago. An era of new life and prosperity now dawned upon those portions of the globe. As a result of the Turkish invasions, India thus began to occupy once more her rightful position as the center of international intercourse in the East, as the intermediary between the West and the Far East. India at last obtained her *Weltstellung*, her place in the world.

India not only gave, she also received. With the coming of Islam the principle of monotheism began to have a more effective place in the philosophic and religious inquiry of the country. As a recent writer states: "A new stringency, a new vigor, and a more decidedly ethical outlook" has been imparted to Indian theism by the Moslem influence. What Islam really did to Hinduism was to emphasize the practical reality of monotheism which before had been speculative. It further modified the Aryan addiction to intuitive speculation.

After the Moslem conquest India acquired a new language, known as *Urdu*. In the North, however, this failed to bring about an effective unity between Hindus and Moslems, where actually both people now speak *Hindustani* (a mixture of *Hindi* and *Urdu*). Moreover the Hindus write in Sanskrit and the Moslems in Arabic, each remaining ignorant of the other's script. Language, in fact, is an important cause of division in the North.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The northern states, it may be remarked here, have not been specifically dealt with in this book. They did not come directly under British rule. The smallest of them is no more than twenty-four square miles in area. The largest (Hyderabad) would equal in size several midwestern American states combined. All are ruled by monarchs called *rajas*, *maharajas*,

Certainly, however, the culture of India received a new impulse from the Moslem impact. It gave birth to a native historical literature. Annals and chronicles were written aplenty. A new style of architecture, the Indo-Saracenic, blending native solidity with a new breadth and spaciousness and gaiety, was introduced. The arch and the dome became frequent in Indian architecture. A spirit of freedom and progress entered into the art and culture of India.

Like a sword the democracy of Islam cut the bonds of caste asunder among millions of the population. Not only has caste no hold over the growing population of Moslems in India, now nearly one hundred millions, but it has loosened its grip on the surrounding Hindu population. Hindu society has certainly been liberalized by the long duration of Moslem rule and discipline.

If the sway of caste over Hindus in the North is not as extensive as over Hindus in the South we can mention still other influences that have been at work, aside from the long years of Moslem rule. Vastly has caste been weakened here due to modern means of transportation, to British rule, to the extensive commerce of this active section of India, and finally to its efforts at industry.

## 21. LATE HINDU REACTIONS TO MOSLEM RULE

The strength and influence of Moslem rule in India was proved again by the Hindu reactions it produced toward the end. The theistic movement acquired new prestige and power when the Sikhs entered the stage of Indian history. Sikhism came as a reaction and revolt against Moslem rule, and that is why a narrative of its fortunes

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or *nizams*, each of whom has been exercising his power under the advice of a British resident. Six hundred of these rulers sit in the Chamber of Princes, which itself is part of the central government. These Indian states, we may presume, will present the biggest problem for an independent India, after that of the Hindu-Moslem unity. Actually they constitute about two fifths of India. The position and influence of their rulers cannot be discounted. — *Ed.*

belongs to the chapter on Moslem rule in India. Founded by Guru Nanak (1469-1538) in the Punjab as a theistic movement away from Hinduism, Sikhism became a religious order in the time of Arjun, the sixth guru, as their head was called (1638). The Sikhs played a part in the revolts that were frequent in the latter days of Mogul history, helping one claimant to the Mogul masnad against another. The last of the gurus, Govind Singh, was assassinated, in 1718, at Nanded, in the territories of modern Hyderabad, and the Sikh hatred of Moslems was inflamed.

It was in and around the northwestern headquarters of Mogul rule, at Lahore in the Punjab, that the Sikhs gathered strength. From there they acted as a thorn in the side of Mogul rule throughout the eighteenth century. In 1761, they were strong enough to found a kingdom at Lahore, and became sufficiently powerful to be worth conciliating by an invader of India from Afghanistan, Zaman Shah Abdali, whom later they defeated. As a result of this began the career of the greatest of the Sikh rulers of India, Ranjit Singh, the lion of the Punjab. He was important enough to have a treaty sought by the British which delimited the frontiers of the respective rule of the two powers, and to receive a letter and gift of honor from William IV of England.

But the Sikhs, who reached the zenith of their political power in Ranjit Singh's time, lost their independence owing to the usual causes operating among Hindu rulers — intrigues with the enemy on the part of rivals, deterioration of their earlier vigor, and decay of their original unity and integrity. The Sikhs lost their independence to the British, but their military valor survived and the Sikhs continue to be an important part of the sword arm of India. Both in their independence and in their splendid corporate life within the body politic of India, the Sikhs have proved the political value of theism.

Two other forms of native reaction against Moslem rule were seen in the South. The earlier of these Hindu reactions was the rule of Vijayanagar, established on the southern bank of the Tungabadhra within the Dekhan, about the year 1386. It soon expanded southward as far as Trichinopoly, and in the time of Krishnadeva Raja (1501-1526) reached its zenith when it conquered roughly the whole of the territory now occupied by the Madras Presidency and Mysore. Before long, however, it was attacked and overpowered by a combination of the Dekhan Moslem powers, coming to an end with a crash in the famous battle of Talikota, in 1565.

Yet another attempt was made by native India to bring about the unity of the country as a reaction against foreign rule. It was a supreme effort in favor of native independence against Moslem subjugation which the Mahrattas aimed at achieving empire in India. Founded among the hills of the western Ghats by Shivaji, the "mountain rat," as he was called by the Moslems, the Mahratta empire was the thrust of Hindu dharma against Moslem usurpation. It was aided by the hillmen called Mavalas. Issuing from the refuge to which it had been driven in the Dekhan, it now gathered the Mahratta people together. Shivaji made religion serve his purpose. He scored brilliant successes in the guerrilla warfare which the terrain of his native hills and the composition of his troops favored. But even though he led expeditions as far south as Vellore and Gingee in the Dekhan, yet at the hour of his death his rule did not extend beyond the highlands of the western Ghats. The weakness of his immediate successors brought the Mahratta empire into the hands of the Peshwas who had originally been only one of the ministers of Shivaji in the Ashtapradhan, or Council of Ministers.

The Peshwas proved to be the mayors of the palaces of the Mahratta Merovingians, who were afterward con-

fined to Satara. Balaji Viswanath, the first of the Peshwas, founded, about 1715, the dynasty of Brahmin rulers which organized the last Hindu attempt at empire. Under the first of the Peshwas, Balaji and Baji Rao I, the Mahrattas extended their sway over the country as far as the Krishna in the Dekhan, establishing their capital at Poona, and subsequently over Gujarat, Malwa, and other parts of central and southern India. Under feudal chiefs like the Gaekwars and Scindia and Holkar, the Mahrattas established centers of influence in the heart of the Mogul empire. Under Balaji, the third Peshwa, about 1750, the Mahratta sway extended as far east as Orissa and as far north as the Punjab. But with dramatic suddenness the far-flung empire of the Mahrattas crashed, in 1765, under the decisive blows of an Afghan adventurer, the Durani chieftain, Ahmed Shah. The Mahratta confederacy never recovered from this blow and soon lost its way to independence, bowing to the onward march of still other alien arms.

The Mahratta experiment at empire failed for the same reason and from the same causes that other Hindu attempts at empire had failed. The radical defect of Shivaji's administration was that it was not centralized enough for the purposes of a stable rule. The villages, with their panchayat self-government, were left untouched by Shivaji and the Peshwas, and so remained in splendid isolation from each other and from the center of government. The central government, no doubt, was seemingly well organized. The country was divided into provinces, and provincial affairs were duly supervised. But there was lacking that intimate contact between the central government and local government which is necessary to keep a state together.

Even the small extent of centralization that Shivaji began to organize slackened under the Peshwas. The Patels and the Kulkarnis, generally hereditary officials, were attached to the village much more than to the central government.

In the Prants, or districts, a system of checks and counter checks exercised by central and local officials upon each other was the device of the Peshwas to prevent corruption and inefficiency in Mahratta administration. This organization of administrative supervision, although it prevented certain abuses, hardly promoted the organization of the Mahratta state into a unified whole. To gain extension of empire, the Peshwas still further loosened the bonds of discipline. In self-defense they acted counter to the policy of Shivaji and declared themselves the feudatories of the Mogul empire. They thus allowed the feudal system extensive and intensive development within the Mahratta confederacy. The fiefs called Jagirs or Saratjams were allowed to become practically independent and to be held in hereditary succession. The Mahratta empire degenerated into a confederacy and was swept off the face of India because it turned traitor to the ideals of rule and organization of its successful founder.

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## PART THREE

### *Europe Enters Into India*

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#### I. THE PORTUGUESE ADVENTURE

IN MY end is my beginning," Portugal could say to herself, summing up the history of one of the great peoples of the world. And so it was. It was a small country in early and medieval European history. It is a small state now; but there was a time when the Portuguese were one of the greatest peoples and played a leading part on the stage of world history. That part could not have been explained by their early history.

The Portuguese were a small, unknown, unadventurous people, ploughing their lonely furrow. But suddenly they leaped into fame. They became adventurous, sea-faring discoverers and conquerors. They were an example of a successful people that is rational and bold enough to make use of any newly discovered method or tool to carve out a place for itself in the world. The new tools that they made use of, the map, the mariner's compass, and the caravel with side sails which added much to the tacking power of ships, made long voyages possible. And Columbus' mistake in thinking he had landed in the East Indies when he had landed only on spurs of America, as well as Pope Alexander VI's division of the world in 1493, made them turn eastward to find India. Their great King Henry the Navigator had showed them how new and



rich countries were to be discovered by hugging the coast of Africa. That new-found enthusiasm brought them to the Cape of Storms, later transformed by another forward looking Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, in 1487, into the Cape of Good Hope. From there a trader from Gujarat is said to have showed another enterprising Portuguese captain, Vasco da Gama, the way to India. These far-flung sea voyages of the Portuguese in their small, frail vessels, fighting against hunger, thirst, scurvy, and mutiny, form a glorious chapter in the history of maritime adventure.

The outline of the history of the Portuguese conquests and settlements in India is soon told. After Vasco da Gama began the Portuguese entry into India on the southwest coast at Calicut on May 28, 1498, Duarte Pacheco (1504) laid the foundations of empire, for which Francis Almeida (1505-1509) and Lawrence Almeida by the capture of Cochin, Quilon, and Mombassa by ventures in Africa, secured the communications with Portugal. Moreover, Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515) by the capture of Aden, Ormuz, and the Malacca Straits made the Indian Ocean a Portuguese sea, and John de Castro (1546-1548) consolidated the settlements on the west coast of India.

The military exploits of the Portuguese captains of Vasco da Gama and of the great Alfonso of Albuquerque were blackened by cruelties, treacheries, and intolerance such as characterized Europeans in their military contact with men of other color and culture than their own. They were Christians away from the pieties of their own homes and churches. But it is idle to deny to the Portuguese, as is done by a nationalist Indian scholar,<sup>1</sup> "all claims to statesmanship and service to the world." It is thrown up against them that they were not great empire builders because they held only a few exiguous points in India and never succeeded in conquering large slices of territory. But the Portuguese empire in India lasted

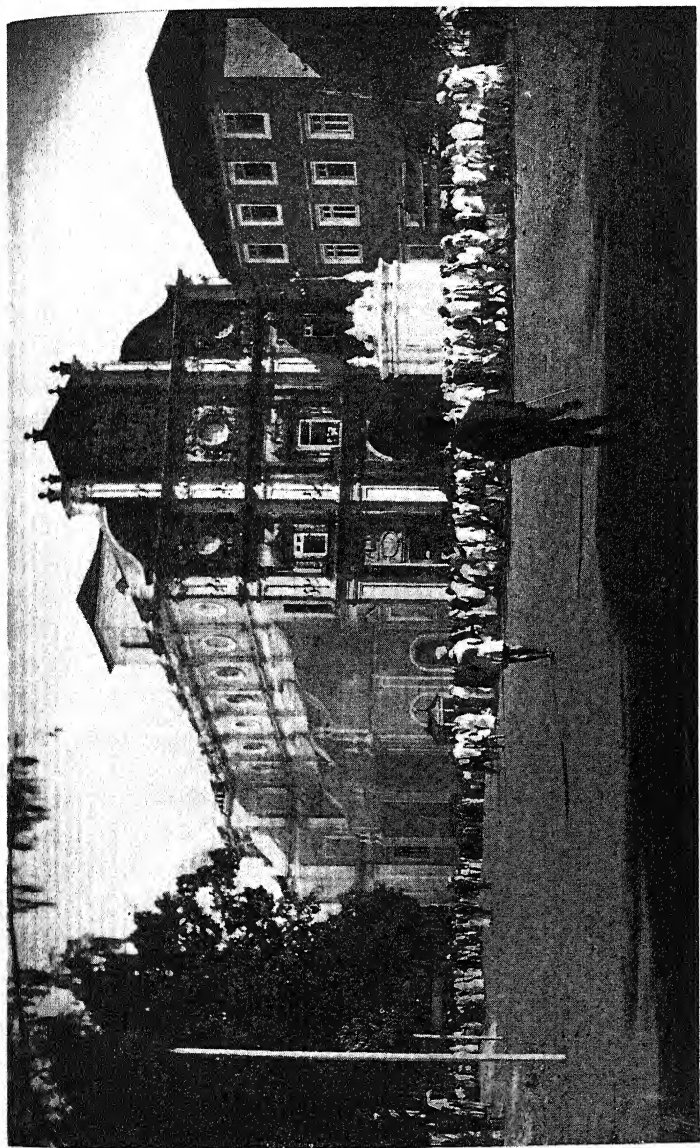
<sup>1</sup> Ponnikkar: *The Portuguese in Malabar*.

only a hundred years, and the first years were occupied with securing the sea lines from Portugal to India.

Alfonso de Albuquerque's expedition (1513-1515) to secure Ormuz, Aden, and the Straits of Malacca was essential to the defense and security of the settlements in western India. The settlements in Malabar were single and isolated stations and ports since there were well-established principalities there, and the policy of the Portuguese was to wait for opportunity to increase their empire. In that part of western India where they entered into a political vacuum their conquest and settlement were as complete and thorough as any political historian could require them to be.

In Goa, as in the other settlements where they had a free hand, they followed a policy of thoroughness. Like the Spaniards they had set out on their discoveries and conquests across the sea not only for commerce and gold but for the propagation of their religion. They converted large numbers of the native population of inland and continental Goa to Christianity, sometimes by force, sometimes by offering the converts the privileges of government. They imposed western civilization upon the people, western methods of rule. Bereft, like most Catholic peoples, of color and racial prejudice, they encouraged marriages between Portuguese officers and soldiers and native women. If today Goa looks like a Christian country, with churches at every bend of the river and on every hilltop, if wayside shrines are strewn about the country, if Catholic processions and *festas* are the order of the day, it is on account of the policy of thoroughness followed by the conquistadores.

If the Inquisition is mentioned in connection with the religious history of Goa, we need but bear in mind the executions and expulsions based on the *cujus regio, ejus religio* principle and by the Test Acts and Recusancy Acts of Protestant countries. As counteracting the memory of the Inquisition, we must not fail to remember the remains



The church of Bom Jesu with the shrine of St. Francis Xavier, Goa.



of the hospitals, poor houses, schools, refuges for orphans, and homes for the aged that are strewn about Goa; also the sweetness and light of St. Francis Xavier gathering the children of the common people around him with the sound of his little bell and teaching them the prayers and catechism of Christianity and the love of Christ.

Within the limits of their strait religious and cultural outlook, the Portuguese did notable work for civilization and culture in India. First of all they performed and practiced the doctrine of equality between races and between the rulers and the ruled. Portuguese settlements were not so much alien colonies as parts of Portugal. The king of Portugal treated the friendly rajahs of Malabar as his brothers. Alfonso de Albuquerque used to speak of the women of Goa as his daughters. The fusion of the conquerors and the conquered was the policy of this great Portuguese statesman. Association with the natives of the country was no stumbling block or rock of offense as it has proved to be for Anglo-Saxon conquerors.

Soon after the conquest, Indians, Hindus, and Moslems were found as ship's pilots. Converts to Christianity were granted the full rights of Portuguese citizenship and entry to all offices, honors, and distinctions. A Malabar convert was entrusted with important commands, was made a Knight of the Order of Christ, and when, in 1571, he was killed in action, his body was brought to Goa and buried there with full honors.<sup>2</sup> Alfonso Albuquerque prohibited sati in Portuguese India. Their very missionary policy and activities showed that they wished to share their highest and best possessions with their subjects.

The material progress of India was promoted by the Portuguese. The flora of India owes many new spices to the Portuguese. The pineapple, the cashew, the papaya, the cabbage, the guava, and tobacco India owes to the Portu-

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Part III, Chap. I.

guese. The mango of the grafted variety owes much to the labors and model estates of religious orders like the Jesuits. The foundations of the trade between Europe and India were laid by the Portuguese. Indian goods circulated in India over a much larger area than formerly, thanks to Portuguese coasting vessels. The cloths of Cambay, Chaul, and Dabul were made known to the other parts of India and to Europe. Many an article of European civilization became familiar to the people of India, as is attested by the names for them taken from the Portuguese, such as the Indian vernacular words for table, keys, pens, shirt.

Nor was the Portuguese contribution to the development of culture in India to be despised. It was a Portuguese naturalist, Garcia de Orta, who published, in 1563, the first foreign account of India's flora in the *Colloquios des simples e drogas de India*. The first printing press in India was set up in Goa.

The greater and more lasting successes of those who followed the Portuguese as rulers in India may hide the extent and intensity of their contribution to the arts of conquest and colonization. Others have lasted longer and have drawn more material profit out of their enterprise. The English have made more permanent conquests, the Dutch have made a much better business concern of their colonies. But neither of them had any moral purpose to ennoble their conquest or their colonization. Neither of them pretended, or tried of set purpose, to change the moral and social life of the people among whom they settled. Politicians may find fault with the Portuguese for professing that conversion to Christianity was the intention of their conquest. Sociologists may attribute their failure to their mixing their blood with that of the natives, and in the manner of *Herrenvolk* speak of racial purity as the cause and test of imperial power. But none can deny that the motive of the Portuguese in their colonial enterprise in India had much more moral

and political value than Dutch or French or British rule. The measure of the difference between the Portuguese and British empires is that the former produced Camoens' *Lusiad* and the latter Kipling's *Departmental Ditties*.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Portuguese discoveries and empire changed the whole history of the world. The Portuguese share with the Spaniards in America the honor of opening the world of Europe to a larger world than it knew. The Cape route to the East, discovered by the Portuguese, blazed a new trail for history. The stream of world history was turned from the Near and Middle East, in which the Turks and Islam had sought to canalize it, and opened out into broader and more eventful ways. And in our day (1942-1945) when the Cape route has served as the life line of freedom at a time when the road to the East was blocked by Italy and Germany, the discoverers of this alternative route to the East might well be remembered. When Camoens in the *Lusiad* makes Venus show Gama the whole world and how he has opened it for future generations, he was writing not only prophetic poetry but matter-of-fact history.

The decline and fall of Portuguese power in India was due to well-known historical causes. Portugal was too small a country to support one empire in America and another in Asia. The building was too large for the base. Local officials were poorly supported from the home country and weakly controlled from the central government. The long voyages from Portugal to India, the excessive mortality of Europeans in India before experience had taught them the proper way of life in a tropical climate, luxury and the deceitfulness of riches sapped the morality of the colonists and rulers. The high spirit of the Conquistador, as Burton the translator of the *Lusiad* put it, was merged in the egotism and self-interest, the conceit and self-satisfaction of the colonist. The superior resources of their rivals and competitors in eastern

navigation and trade sealed the fate of the Portuguese empire. But the credit of Portugal will always be that she showed the way to the cultural influence of Europe in Asia.

## 2. DUTCH AND FRENCH EPISODES

The Dutch attempt at empire in India is an episode only in the annals of western trade in the East. The Dutch soon abandoned India for the more profitable exploitation of the Spice Islands farther East. More noticeable was the French bid for empire.

This French attempt began, like that of its more successful rival, from the southeast coast. The great Dupleix made the astonishing discovery that the Mogul empire was a Colossus with feet of clay, that the country could be easily conquered with the aid of Indian soldiers led by French officers, and that a small band of Indian sepoys well led could put large armies badly led to rout. To Dupleix's mind commerce called for conquest. But French individualism, which led to rivalries between French generals and administrators, like those between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais and between Lally and Bussy, weakened the energy of French rule in India.

Nor did the representatives of France in India get the support they needed from the mother country. The costly wars of Louis XIV, the close dependence of the French East India Company (which traded and conquered in India) on the French state, which itself was suffering from degeneration and decay in the eighteenth century, hardly helped the French to keep and strengthen their hold on the country. Although Dupleix did not succeed, his ideas did. They were adopted by the European people who strove with them for the profits of commerce and empire, and who succeeded where the French had failed. What was left of France in India were the small towns of Pondicherry in Madras, Mahe in Malabar, and Chandranagore near Cal-



cutta, with their rectangular streets and squares, their Latin look, and the large bodies of Catholic missionaries that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries labored hard to extend the bounds of Christianity in southern India.

### 3. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

"To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shop-keepers," said the great exponent of English policy in the eighteenth century, Adam Smith, and that is what the English did from the beginning of their entrance into India. Commercial were the origins of English rule in India, and commercial it has been throughout the formative period of its history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, alike in its character and in its influence. It was a trading corporation, first known as the London Company when it was founded by a charter of Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the year 1600, later, in 1698, transformed into the English Company, still later, in 1708, changed into the "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies," subsequently known to history as the East India Company — it was nothing more than this that laid the foundations of British empire in India.

The first settlements of the English in India were commercial settlements, containing merely factories, warehouses, and residences of the local representatives of the company. They were known as factors. The greater number of them were on or near the seacoast: Surat, Ahmedabad, and Calicut on the west; Madras Armagon, Masulipatam, Ganjam, Balasore, and Calcutta on the east. Only Bombay among the earlier settlements owes its origin to a political act, and came into Charles II's hands as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine of the House of Braganza of Portugal. It was transferred by the king to the company in 1681.

The wholly commercial character of the early activities

of the company comes out in its early records. Alike in the minutes of the court of directors in London, as in the calendars, consultations, letters, and dispatches from the Indian end, the bulk of the references are to business of a commercial kind: the arrival and dispatch of ships, the purchase and export of longcloth and broadcloth, salempores and dimities, gingham and romals, tutenague and izzaries, patcharisi, arrack, diamonds, coral, and treasure. Chests of opium and bags of rice caused concern to the council at Fort William even as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Investments and accounts, advances made and payments received, monopolies and customs were the preoccupation of the councils at the chief settlements. The natives of the country they first had dealings with belonged to the trading classes, Gomasthas and Shroffs and Dubashes.

Not for long, however, did the East India Company preserve unmodified its commercial character. Not only the political circumstances of the country, the lack of strong efficient government so necessary to trade and business, but its own commercial motives drove it into the political game of conquest and expansion. The difficulties in which the commerce of the company found itself in a strange land, whose language the merchants could not speak, with whose trade customs they were not familiar, and whose governments could not insure long terms of peace and order, led to war and consequent territorial advance. The company had to constitute governments of its own in the vacuum created by the absence of native government in the territories where it had settled for the primary business of trade.

To find money for the investment, i.e., the setting apart of a certain portion of the revenues of the company for the purchase of goods for exportation to England so as to make up for the deficiency of silver sent from England to India to pay for imports from India, was the external and internal

policy of the company directed. It was the investment that was largely responsible for that endless chain of wars into which the company was plunged.

The wars of Clive (1748-1757) which initiated the conquest of that portion of south India later to be known as the Madras Presidency, the acquisitiveness of Warren Hastings (1775-1785), the first governor general, which brought upon him the terrible impeachment speeches of Edmund Burke and the large portions of Bengal and Bihar into the British empire in India, are thus explained. Cornwallis, as governor general (1786-1793), was persuaded that empire was necessary to the commerce of the company and that it was too late in his day to divorce the one from the other. The Marquis of Wellesley (1798-1805), one of the greatest of the English rulers of India, complained "that India was ruled not from a palace but a counting house; not with the ideas of a prince but with those of a retail dealer in muslin and indigo," and he urged the extension of British territories in India by "just and legitimate means unconnected with schemes of conquest and irregular ambition."

Commerce called for conquest, and conquest favored conquest. Under the influence of this double motive, the British empire spread over the greater part of northern India. For it was in the south that the English started, like the other European influences started, and unlike all the other external influences that had hitherto come to India from and by the north. As in Bengal, the interventionism of Warren Hastings in the politics of the Mahrattas, continued by the Marquis of Wellesley, brought by the end of the eighteenth century the first territories of the Bombay Presidency, the central provinces, and Gujarat, into the hands of the English. Mysore was conquered as the result of the wars with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan who were disturbing the trade of Madras. Madras, Bengal, and Bom-

bay, the three presidencies (so named because the head of their government was called, at first, the president of the council which governed their affairs) may be said to have been acquired in deference to the commercial motive.

While it lasted the commercial character of the company influenced the system of administration not only in its origin but in its continuance. The constitution and organization of the administration, the devices and instruments of government, the methods of work it favored, the recruitment of its officials, their nomenclature, employment, and service were governed by rules and practices derived from commercial business. The now-celebrated Indian civil service dated from these commercial origins. Its members were, at first, recruited as clerks in a business firm. Personal knowledge of the candidate led to appointment by the directors on recommendation by the proprietors, holders of East Indian stock. The recruits were young men taken as apprentices. A public school education, supplemented by a knowledge of accounts, was deemed sufficient. "Sent from school to school and gaining very little learning," Clive was given a job and shipped off to Madras. Warren Hastings was taken from Westminster School and put through a course of bookkeeping before he was sent out. Thus was built up that great system of patronage which played a notable part in the history of government not only in British India but in England.

The young recruit of the company came out to one of the presidency towns as a writer, he rose to be a factor, then junior merchant. This classification lasted till almost the last days of the company's rule. The head of the company's government at their settlements was known first as agent and then president. It was under a covenant that the writers of the company's services came out to serve in India. The emoluments of the first servants of the company were

on a low scale, as the company had to make profits and bring attractive dividends to its shareholders. As compensation they were allowed the right of private trade. The abuse of this concession, revealed during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, brought about the introduction of the large scale of salaries ( £20,000 to the governor general, £6,000 to the members of his council, £10,000 to presidency governors ) that have astonished the rest of the world.

More important consequences of the commercial origin of the company were the government by council and the rule of boards and of the secretariat which are a characteristic feature of British Indian administration. The company's government had also to be a government by record. Reports of commercial transactions, like the buying and selling of piece goods, could not be long and they had to be full, as the local representatives of the company were only agents of principals in England. The practice was established at the factories of requiring a full report of the minutest transactions, and copies of every resolution recorded and of every letter sent and received were taken and sent to the home authorities. This practice continued even when the company's preoccupation became largely political. It started as a government by writing and has continued to be so ever since.

The minutes were a dominant factor in Indian administration, the writing of good minutes was considered an important qualification of the good administrator. Macaulay in his famous Essay on Warren Hastings, and speaking from his own experience in the government of India, thought that it was as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write as it was to a minister in England that he should be able to speak. The minutes have been described as the Indian substitute for the European oration in senatorial assemblies. In the form of the note, the minute,

the dispatch, or the report, writing has played a dominant part in the British administration of India.<sup>3</sup>

In policy also the company was commercial. The promotion of trade and the collection of revenue was the main object of its administration until about the end. Its chief district officials were, and have ever since been, known as collectors. It had neither the inclination to acquire, nor did it try to acquire, the revenues needed to promote the material or moral progress of the people. Even such elementary duties performed in the England of the eighteenth century like the building of roads and canals, or the care of the poor, were beyond its ken. Adam Smith's indictment that no other sovereigns ever were, or from the nature of things ever could be, so perfectly indifferent concerning the happiness or misery of their subjects, the improvement or waste of their dominions, the glory or disgrace of their administration, was applicable to almost the whole history of the company's rule. The effect of Burke's impeachment speeches, which despite its errors and exaggerations roused the conscience of the English people to a sense of their responsibilities, began to be felt only in the middle of the nineteenth century. In matters of religion, education, and social improvement, the Walpolean maxim, *quieta non movere*, was the governing principle of the company. The policy of the company was largely commercial. Business is business was its motto. The trade and monopoly of opium is thus explained.

Its international relations in India were also governed by the commercial motive. They received literary castigation at the hands of Sheridan in his celebrated speech on the Begums of Oudh. His references to "auctioneering ambassadors" and "trading generals," to "revolutions brought about

<sup>3</sup> For details see the author's *Influences That Made the British Indian Administrative System*, Luzac & Co., India.

by affidavits," "armies employed in executing an arrest," "towns besieged on a note of hand," "princes dethroned for the balance of an account," and finally, "to a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody scepter and the little traffic of a merchant's house" may be justified by more than one transaction of the company and its agents with the country's powers.

To help in dealings with them the company appointed officials who afterward came to be known as residents. These had more than one commercial duty to perform. That they were not mere ambassadors at the courts of the Indian states but played an indirect but important part in the internal administration of the native states is due to their commercial origin. But one important service India owes to the East India Company. That was the realization of the importance of the navy and of adequate maritime protection for India. India owes the foundation of its modern navy to the company.

#### 4. THE KING'S FORCES AND THE COMPANY

Commerce drove the East India Company into empire. In its political expansion in the cause and for the sake of commerce the company was driven to make use of a political instrument. That instrument was the army. One of the earliest of the company's charters, that of Charles II in 1661, granted the company the power to send ships of war, men, or ammunitions for the security and defense of their factories and places of trade, and to choose commanders and officers over them and to give them power and authority by commission under a common seal, or otherwise to make peace or war with any people that are not Christians, in any place of their trade as shall be for the most advantage and benefit of the said government and company and of their trade, and to erect fortifications. From the beginning,

on account of the political circumstances of the countries in which the first settlements of the company were established, these settlements had to be fortified.

Madras had its Fort St. George, Calcutta its Fort William, and Bombay its Castle to defend its merchants and those with whom they traded. The first agents and presidents of council had certain ill-defined powers as commanders of the garrisons that were at hand. The first writers and factors and merchants were expected to know the use of arms and to take part in the defense of their wares and warehouses. That is how it was possible for Robert Clive, originally recruited as a writer in the company's service at Madras, to tempt the fortunes of war. At each of these forts the armed forces of the company consisted at first of a few European guards, with about 200 or 300 natives.

The first European regiment was organized in Madras, the native soldiery called sepoys (from *sipahi*, Persian for soldier) being formed into battalions of 1000 each with an English officer at its head. It was similarly that the first Bengal and Bombay regiments were formed. With these little coast armies the East India Company began to march on its career of military conquest. Clive's career of conquest from Madras to Bengal showed how war could add to the wealth of the company. In 1763, a Madras governor could write: "Whereas the Company's system was formerly wholly commercial it is now partly commercial and partly military." The appointment of Lord Cornwallis, a military commander, in succession to Warren Hastings who had begun his career as writer and warehouse keeper, is significant of the change that had so soon come over the company's methods of increasing its prosperity.

As a result of the frequent wars with the French and the country powers, the Mahratta and Mysore wars of the eighteenth century, the power and prestige and influence of the army in the affairs of the company grew. The nu-



merical strength of the army steadily increased. Clive won his way through the Carnatic with regiments of 200 to 400 Europeans and 400 to 800 sepoy. His army at Plassey, which, in 1757, laid the foundation of the company's empire in Bengal, consisted of 900 Europeans, 200 half-bred Portuguese, and 2100 sepoy with 10 guns. By 1781, the strength of a British army at a battle in the South was 8476.

By 1795, after the early Mysore and Mahratta wars, the company's military power consisted of an army of 15,000 Europeans, 24,000 native troops in Bengal and Madras, respectively, and about 9000 in Bombay. By this time the great presidential armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay had been formed. The Mahratta, Pindari, and Sikh wars of the first quarter of the nineteenth century still further added to the numbers of the company's army. About 1829, the Bengal army consisted of 68 battalions of native infantry, 3 brigades of horse artillery, the Madras army of 52 battalions of native infantry, 2 brigades of horse artillery, and the Bombay army of 24 battalions of native infantry, 8 companies of foot artillery. The company's forces about that time counted about 280,863 of whom 10,541 were Europeans. Till the conscript armies of the nineteenth century came into the field in Europe, the company's army constituted the largest standing army in the world outside of Russia. About the middle of the nineteenth century the number of the army stood at 311,374 with 45,522 Europeans.

Not only in numbers but in prestige and power did the army grow. The victories of the last quarter of the eighteenth century — Assaye, Argaum, Gawilghur, Laswari, Aligarh, Dig — covered it with glory. The leadership of generals like Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) won for it undying fame. And when governors general like Lord Cornwallis, the Marquis of Hastings, and Lord Hardinge took the field as commanders in chief the army took on added prestige. How much the company owed to

the army is proved by the fact that when Lord Cornwallis and others proposed the abolition of the company's forces, the directors in England stoutly resisted the proposal on the ground that the company's government had been respected both by its own subjects and foreign powers because it possessed a great military force.

The army tried to cash in its services to the company by demanding concessions of every kind. From the middle of the eighteenth century it claimed all manner of special consideration. The pay (rising in the eighteenth century from Rs 7 for a sepoy to Rs 67 for a Subhedar), together with clothing allowance and the prospects of booty and pension, made military service more attractive than civil occupations. Many of the army's battles with the company were over the question of *batta* — a special extra allowance to make up for the low pay of company servants. Not only sepoys and noncommissioned officers but commercial officers claimed it. *Batta* clouded the career of a governor general, Lord William Bentinck (1828–1835), who incurred great unpopularity with the army for reducing the allowance to one half at certain stations. In Bengal, on the orders of the court of directors and that of a commander in chief, Sir Charles Napier (1850) resigned because of the question whether as commander in chief he had the right of allowing *batta* to certain regiments in the army without reference to the governor general, in council.

On more serious and on more general questions than that of *batta* the army tried conclusions with the civil power. The beginnings of company rule in Madras were made difficult by the differences between Major Stringer Lawrence and Governor Saunders and his council. Warren Hastings and his council in Bengal had to contend with Sir Eyre Coote over military appointments. In spite of the court of directors' support given to the civil power in India the challenge to this by the army continued throughout the

eighteenth century. General Wellesley could not understand the conduct of the "military gentlemen of Malabar," who were exceedingly anxious to establish what they called military law. Clashes between the presidency commanders in chief and their governors and between the commander in chief of India and the governor general in Calcutta were frequent. The long-drawn-out struggle of the eighteenth and of the early part of the nineteenth century was brought to an end by the Act of 1833, confirmed by later Acts of 1853 and 1858, which vested the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole government of India, civil and military, in the governor general, in council.

The challenge given to the civil power by the commander in chief, Sir Charles Napier, over the question of grant of batta was taken up by the governor general, Lord Dalhousie, who asserted the supremacy of the civil power and refused to recognize the right of the head of the army to grant such allowances on his own right for, "to concede such a power to any commander in chief of the army would give two masters to the empire of India and would render the sure administration of the government plainly impossible." Half a century later, the Homeric struggle between another great commander in chief and another great governor general was not a direct contest between the civil and military powers, for Lord Kitchener never contested the supremacy of Lord Curzon, the governor general, in council—he simply wanted to be the only and the supreme military adviser and administrator in the government of India.

In another way this questioning of the authority of the civil power added to the anxieties of the company's rulers. The frequent quarrels between the king's forces and the company's forces—for early in its career of conquest the company had called in the Trojan horse of the royal forces—caused trouble between the army and the civil power from

1700 until the extinction of the company's rule, in 1858. The history of the relations between the king's and the company's forces is a sorry and curious chapter in the history of the British army in India.

But throughout the period of the company's rule the influence of the army in the government of the company was notable. The army stimulated, if it did not originate, the policy and programs of territorial expansion of the company. The opinion of Colonel (later Sir Thomas) Munro, that there were times and incidents where conquest not only brought a revenue but also additional security, was acted on by the important governors general in India: Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), the Marquis of Wellesley (1798-1805), Lord Hastings (1813-1823), Lord Hardinge (1866-1868), and Lord Dalhousie (1868). General Wellesley and Lord Lake with their great victories caused and encouraged this expansion.

From the beginning the army was the favored child of the company. The army budget ate away large slices of the company's finances. The military charges in 1809-1810 averaged £7,344,000 a year. The debt of India at the time the crown assumed the government, in 1858, was £74,500,000, and it was accounted for largely by the one constant series of wars which had filled the eighteenth and half of the nineteenth century.

In return the army rendered other than purely military services. Soldiers were among the great civil rulers of the company. The political department which had to manage the diplomatic relations with the country powers was largely manned by soldiers. Some of the greatest diplomats of the company — Sir John Malcolm, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Herbert Edwardes, Sir Henry Lawrence — shed luster on the civil administration of the company. The company's police was first officered by army men. The modern Indian police, formed on the model of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was

founded by the great military commander, Sir Charles Napier, who, in 1850, introduced the new model in the conquered province of Sind.

India owes its trigonometrical survey to army men — to Captain Rennel the father of India survey, to Colonel Lambton who began the great survey of India in 1802, to Colonel Sir John Everest who is remembered for all time in the mountain peak to which his name was given. The Indian road owes its modern development to the army. The first irrigation systems of India were built by army men. General Sir Arthur Cotton, Sir Proby Cautley, and Scott Moncreiff are honored names in the tracts made fertile by their works. The first railways were constructed by soldiers and served a largely strategic purpose. Whole provinces like Scinde and the Punjab were made by the army. Whole peoples owed their distinctive existence and their first steps in civilization to army men: the Khonds of Orissa to Colonel Macpherson, the Bhils of central India to Colonel Outram, the Baluchi and other frontier tribes to Colonel Sandeman. New towns and cities were created by the army — Bangalore, Secunderabad, Mhow, Rawalpindi.

## 5. THE SEPOY MUTINY

Services such as these rendered by the army to the company gave it a good conceit of itself. As a consequence, throughout the history of the company the army was giving itself airs. Its attempt to try conclusions with the civil power for superiority has already been recorded. But the methods the army resorted to in order to force the company to accept its terms were more extraordinary. It frequently had recourse to mutiny. On issues major and minor regiments would resort to that device.

On the question of batta, officers of the Bengal army threw up their commissions, which Clive quietly accepted; the Fifteenth Bengal native Infantry mutinied, in 1797,

when called upon without sufficient notice to board a ship; the Vellore mutiny of 1806 was a sepoy's mutiny caused by certain regulations in regard to drill and dress and in regard to caste marks; another Madras mutiny, in 1809, was an officers' mutiny, due to the abolition of the Tent Contract System (a source of profit to the officer); the Barrackpore mutiny in Bengal of 1824 was due to the failure to provide conveyance for baggage on the expedition to Burma.

The sepoy mutiny of 1857 was the culmination of a habit which had to reach such a point in order that the army might be cured of this disease, but it did not end with the fortunes of the army. It brought the company crashing about its ears, eventually to perish by the sword which it had taken when it began its career of conquest.

The sepoy mutiny of 1857 not only finished company rule, it influenced the whole course of British rule after the crown took the place of the company. It has hung like a dark pall over the course of Indian history. It has hovered like an evil spirit darkening and fouling the course of Indian government. It forms the great divide of British Indian history. And the army bore the mutiny's first and most immediate consequences, its long and painful course, and its drastic suppression.

The composition of the Indian army was radically changed. Of course the company's forces disappeared with the company, but the Indian forces that remained were set up on the *divide et impera* principle, each regiment being composed of companies of different communities and castes, and each company of sepoys of the same community or caste. Recruitment to the army was closed to the Hindustans, who had been the backbone of the old Bengal army, and was confined to the Sikhs, the Punjabs who had helped in the subjugation of the mutiny. The army became less and less national and less and less Indian. Against the advice of

statesmen like Sir Bartle Frere and Mountstuart Elphinstone, the general population was disarmed.

As a result of the mutiny, the old confidence of the rulers in the loyalty of the people, the old desire to promote social and political progress disappeared. The British rulers drew back into a shell — they would do only the minimum that was necessary for the good government of the country. Peace and order they would safeguard — over and above that they would act only in the interests of administration. They were frightened out of the administrative fervor which in the latter and more political days of the company had discouraged slavery and servile forms of land tenure, had abolished *begari*, or forced labor, made infanticide and Sati illegal, had put down inhuman religious practices like hook swinging, and had abolished human sacrifices among the jungle tribes. No longer were the rulers of India roused to social reform on their own account or on their own initiative. They would undertake progressive legislation only if the interests of administration and so far as the interests of administration required it.

## 6. ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

We have just accounted for the philosophy of government which animated the first rulers of India under the crown. They at first turned to the perfection of the administrative machinery that would insure India the necessities of political life — peace and order. Early in the nineteenth century, the Marquis of Hastings had said "that the increased activity and the recognized equity of the government could alone solve the problem, how the enormous population could be kept in tranquil obedience without any show of efficient strength."

The British had to find a substitute for the forms of government that had existed among the native systems they

had displaced. A landed aristocracy endowed with large powers of police and magistracy, native civil establishments living on service lands and fees and periodical presents rather than on regular salaries in money, hereditary village officers with land grants or remissions of their own or on the village rent — all these forms of government were either not available to the British or deliberately renounced by them. In the place of these old native supports to government, the British had to maintain their authority by a well-built and properly articulated machinery of administration. Government by forms and procedure took the place of the native institutions of self-government.

The company had built a machinery of government which served its commercial and military purposes. A military department, a police department, a political department (so called, for it was the first political business undertaken by the company after it had organized its main business, which was commerce) for carrying on diplomatic relations with the country powers, a finance department, a public works department, a post and telegraph department, a land revenue department together with a numerous many-chambered secretariat in the presidencies of Madras, Bengal, and Bombay, and in the capital of Calcutta, had all been created and organized in company days.

Of these the most important was the land revenue department. Nowhere else in the world has a land revenue department filled such a large place, not only in administration but in the life of the people. State and government and even the people have been largely made in India by land revenue. It is through land revenue administration that the people have in varying degrees been introduced to the idea and institution of the state and the business of government.

In Zemindari areas (like Bengal, Bihar, and Oude) the Zemindar, the landlord after the English model as created



by Lord Cornwallis, came between the government and the people. But even there the district collector and his assistants, through revenue and other fiscal duties, are the only representatives of the state they know. In the village system areas (as in the united provinces and the Punjab) the pressure of the revenue system goes a stratum lower. In the Ryotwari tracts, as in Bombay, central provinces, or Madras, where the ryot, or the individual cultivator, holds land from government and pays land revenue directly to land revenue officials, governmental authority goes down to the lowest strata of Indian society.

Land revenue administration has taught large numbers of people the practice of political obedience. The collector and lower revenue officials, like the Tashildar, are also magistrates of their localities. The district collector's office, the cutchery, with its chief native assistant, the huzur sheristadar, is the embodiment of the authority and administration of the Sirkar to large masses of the population. The jumabandi, the annual settlement of the dues of the ryots, is the annual inquest into the economic position of the people that live on and by the land.

The periodical survey and settlement conducted by the department is a periodical domesday survey of the land and its inhabitants. Landlordism governed the relations between the government and the people and accounted for the beneficent measures of irrigation works, tank restorations, and well digging which have distinguished British rule in India. It accounted also for the political relations between the people and the government. According to an early governor general, Sir John Shore, it came about, when the land revenue of the country became the property of the company, that the Government assumed an authority over the natives not inferior to French despotism. The complete dependence of the people on the government, which has made them look on it as their *ma bap* (father and mother),

even as happened in France where Napoleon attributed it to the cadastral survey, may also in India be traced to the land revenue system.

#### 7. THE CROWN TAKES OVER

Armed now with this panoply of departments, the crown took up the responsibilities of government. It added to and developed and strengthened them. For it had changed its character. It shed its commercial character entirely, and so completed decisively the change that had come over the company, in 1833, when it ceased to be a trading concern. The government of India became more and more political. The new departments created in the crown era, or the transformation of the old departments, were symbolical of the change.

First among them was the finance department. Till 1861, there had been no separate finance department. The governor general, in council, was in charge of the finances as of every other business of government. And he (i.e., he and his council) was in charge of the finances of the whole of British India. Under the company the financial relations between the supreme and the provincial governments have been likened to those of a merchant to his clerk. Everything was dependent on Calcutta, and there was no principle on which the assignment of money to subordinate governments was made. These provincial governments tried to get all they could, and as happens in such cases, the most clamorous, not the most needy or the most deserving, got the biggest share. Moreover, the government of India had to deal with the most petty affairs of the provinces. This pitch-and-toss method, this parish vestry system, as the famous lawyer, Sir Henry Maine, who knew it from within as legal member of the governor general's council, called it, of carrying on the business of a great country was not renounced till late in the crown era.

The first step toward a new system was taken, in 1861, when the first finance member in the governor general's council was appointed in the person of James Wilson, a finance expert from London, brother-in-law of Walter Bagehot. At the same time Lord Canning, the governor general who piloted British rule through the storms of the mutiny and became the first viceroy of India, had introduced the portfolio system according to which each member of his council was entrusted with the charge of a separate department of executive administration. Wilson made financial history by introducing the income tax, a break into the monopoly of land as the chief source of the revenue of the government of India.

His work for the finance department was continued by one of the greatest viceroys of the early crown era, Lord Mayo (1869-1872). A certain degree of financial decentralization was allowed and provincial governments were permitted to make their own budgets, although it was not till 1919 that they formed their own finance departments, for it was only then that a definite division was made between the revenue of the central government and those of the provincial governments.

But Lord Mayo's financial reforms helped the organization of the finance department. He insisted on punctuality in the submission of the estimates by the provincial governments and departments. In addition he insured the submission to the central government of full information, month by month, upon the progress of the finances. He arranged for more time and greater deliberation on the preparation of the estimates. These estimates were compiled from facts supplied by about 300 treasuries, 13 departments of the government of India, and 11 separate provincial or local governments or administrations, each one of which had to exercise a certain degree of independent judgment in making the initial calculations.

This finance department broke new ground in financial administration. It discovered new forms of taxation. The income tax was introduced by Wilson, in 1861, amid much official and popular opposition. Together with the license tax, which was tried temporarily, in 1867-1868, it has brought new classes of people into the orbit of taxation. The latter were mainly the urban classes of merchants, manufacturers, professional men, and public servants who till then had paid no taxes to the state except indirectly through customs and salt, opium, or excise. Their numbers have never been great. In the first year of the income tax, 1860-1861, there were 882,000 paying about 17½ million rupees. But this number has fallen to about 285,000 in recent years on account of the raising of the taxable minimum, since the high cost of collection did not warrant the low minimum of Rs 500 with which it started.

The income tax, once described by Gladstone as "a mighty engine of finance," has proved to be so in India. It forms one tenth of the gross revenue of the central government, and as the two great wars have shown, it is an elastic source of revenue, the most important direct tax in the hands of the central government. It also accounts for other political happenings. By bringing a small but influential number of *novi homines* into political life, the fear expressed by an official critic of the first income tax has proved realistic — namely that this common tax for the whole of India would give a common war cry to the mahajan (money lender) of the Northwest provinces, the sahuکار (merchant) of Bombay, the Brahmin mirasdar (landlord) of Tanjore, and the Moplah traders of Malabar. Being a direct tax it has brought the government of India into political contact with important sections of the people. The very unpopularity of the tax and the consequent discontent have led to the demand for a share in the government that has been steadily growing. Income tax has lent strength to the cry "no taxa-

tion without representation." It was the small number of people that paid income tax who first organized political agitation. Income tax and political agitation have grown together.

Besides its income tax, the finance department has developed the national debt of India. The Indian debt is a burdensome legacy from the East India Company. Its wars and the sepoy mutiny had raised the ordinary debt of India to 97 million pounds, not to speak of 12 million pounds owed to the shareholders of the East India Company. In the crown era it has been increased mainly on account of public works. The moneyed and propertied classes, including the Indian princes who had also begun to invest their money in India securities, were among the most loyal supporters of the British power during the crisis of the sepoy mutiny. The holders of government securities have increased with the years since government in India first began to float loans. The Disraelian prescription of the "sweet simplicity of the 3 per cents" has had telling effect in India. In 1900, it was calculated that out of Rs 1030 millions borrowed in India, Rs 250 millions were held in England, Rs 480 millions by Europeans in India, and Rs 300 millions by natives of India. The total of the India debt toward 1939 was about 12,000 millions of rupees.

Among the departments which received great development in the crown era was the public works department. On the recommendation of a commission, in 1850, a department of public works was organized for the government of India, with subordinate departments for Madras and Bombay. It was done under the stimulating auspices of Lord Dalhousie, the last and probably the greatest of the company's governors general. The work the public works department (P.W.D.) has done for the country is writ large on its surface. The roads and railways that it built, the irrigation works that it conceived, constructed, and main-

tained, have classed it among the beneficent departments of government. It has added to the great heritage it received from the native rulers of India, for in the single province of Madras the native rulers had left behind nearly 50,000 small irrigation works. When the P.W.D. began its history the total road mileage of India was hardly 5000 miles; by 1880 it had increased to 20,000 miles of metaled road, in 1920 it was about 50,000 miles of surfaced and unsurfaced roads made and maintained out of provincial funds. Of railways there were, in 1872, about 5300 miles, by 1901 there were 28,000 miles over which were carried 195,000,000 passengers and 44,000,000 tons of goods a year. The irrigation branch of the P.W.D. had, by 1903, given 43,000 miles of canals and other works to the country, thus irrigating about 20 million acres of land. By 1920 this acreage had expanded to about  $31\frac{3}{4}$  million and at present, thanks to the completion of the Mettur and Sukkur systems, it extends over about 40 million acres.

In all but the irrigation branch the impact of the public works department on the people is impersonal. The government finances the works; and its service is judged by its fruits in the facilities for transport and communication that it provides. But in the irrigation department the contact of government officials with the people is personal and frequent. The distribution of the supply of water for irrigation between the various branches and distributaries of the canal system is entirely in the hands of the canal officer. This dependence of the cultivator on the canal officer for the supply of water to be granted for his fields throws open avenues for oppression and corruption.

The forests of India also owe their department to Lord Dalhousie. Before him the government of the company had become alive to the importance of forests in India and to their influence on the climate and rainfall of the country. Attempts had been made to assert the rights of the govern-

ment over the forests. A conservator of forests had been appointed in Madras and Bombay as early as 1847-1851. The practical need for timber for the newly started railways, in addition to the older demands of the navy, created this department in the given provinces. It was only in 1864, however, that a forest department for the whole of India was organized, and Sir Dietrich Brandis, trained in the great school of German Forestry, was appointed to the newly created post of inspector general of forests to guide provincial governments on the administration of their forests. A forest college was established at Dehra Dun to train rangers and foresters.

The first Forest Act was passed in 1865, imposing penalties for mischief and trespass, while it sanctioned confiscation of stolen timber and implements. Other forest acts for Bombay and Madras were provided later. The forests of India have been demarcated since 1870. The total area of lands under the forest departments is about 233,600 square miles, or about 25 per cent of the area of British India.

The vast extent of forest land, the control exercised by the department over the rights and practices of the population, the fact that forest lands include jungle and grazing lands intermingled with cultivated areas, bring the forest department into intimate connection with the life of the people.

The railway, post, and telegraph departments served to further the communication of the people with each other and to acquaint them with the different parts of their country.

#### 8. INDIA TEN PER CENT LITERATE

The departments that have been described so far dealt with what may be called the necessities of political life and realized the ideals of enlightened landlordism. But British rule in the crown era has devoted itself also to the

development of civilization and culture. Yet here, as in regard to the other parts of Indian life, the impelling motive was administration. It was with a view to smoothening the course of administration, it was to make the administration of an alien rule easy and viable, that the interests of civilization and culture were taken under the wings of government. It was for administrative reasons, therefore, that the company had taken up the cause of the promotion of education in India. As long as Persian was the language of administration and of diplomacy it was that language which was expected to be learned by its native and English officials. As long as Hindu and Mahometan laws were the core of the civil and criminal justice administered by the company, Sanskrit and Hindu law were studied by the civilians that aspired to promotion in the company's service. As early as 1815, the Marquis of Hastings had conceived projects of popular instruction. The motive assigned by him was that absence of instruction implied destruction of morality.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, another of the leading British rulers of India, looked to education to supply him with the large number of natives he wanted for employment in government service. He would have his schools teach their students not only surveying and other subjects useful to judicial and revenue officers, but all "that can enlarge their minds and fix their principles, provided that it does not render them different from the other natives so as to be odious to their countrymen." He hesitated to accept the Christian missionaries' policy of spreading instruction among the lowest castes, arguing that "if our system of education first took root among them it would never spread further, and we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge but disliked and despised by the castes to whom their new attainments would always induce one to prefer them."

Macaulay's *Minute of 1835* and the *Educational Despatch*



of 1854 issued by the Home Government, which positively and actively promoted English education in India, put only the keystone to an arch which had been building for at least half a century. Macaulay preferred English as the medium of instruction and English learning as the subject of instruction, because "in India English is the language spoken by the ruling class, it is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government, it is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East." The court of directors in the *Despatch of 1854* looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important as it was calculated "not only to produce a high degree of intellectual fitness but to raise the moral character of those who partook of its advantages and so to supply you with recruits to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State."

The development of education has ever since been stimulated by the administrative motive. The main reason for the rapid increase of schools and colleges in the years 1854 to 1882 was acknowledged by an educational commission to be that a knowledge of English was becoming more and more essential for government service and similar occupations. That motive also accounts for the relatively greater attention paid to the development of university and secondary education which would supply a continuous flow of clerks and superior servants into government service.

The filtration theory, according to which enlightenment would spread from the upper to the lower classes, was invented to console the statesmen of that generation for the lopsided development of education in India. One result of that policy was that about the end of the past century only 6 per cent of the population was literate while under

4 per cent of the total population was undergoing instruction. It is only under the new impulse of the idea of self-government that primary education has received some development — but even so only 10 per cent of the population have become literate.

India owes its department of education to the administrative energy of Lord Curzon, viceroy and governor general of India (1900–1907), to whom also India owes other departments organizing beneficence for the people: agricultural and co-operative societies, and health departments. An archaeological department, which has discovered ancient buildings and preserved them from mutilation or for future restoration, India also owes to this lover of “old forgotten things and battles long ago.”

Higher education through the English language — which served to bring about a feeling of political unity among the people and, to illustrate the annals of science and culture, has produced a Ramanujam in Mathematics, a Ramun in Physics, a Jagadish Chandra Bose in the Natural Sciences, a Rabindranath Tagore in Literature and a Ghandi in Moral Philosophy — is to be replaced by education through less cultivated languages carried to prominence on the wave of emotional linguistics.

#### 9. A MULTITUDINOUS SECRETARIAT

Holding the various departments of governments together at the center and in the provinces, is the secretariat. It is the organ through which the central or the provincial supreme executive oversees the acts of subordinate authorities, hears about and controls their doings, and sends directions or injunctions to them. The origins of the Indian secretariat were humble enough — it was the office of the secretaries to the governors and governors general, in council. In the course of time each of the departments of government in company days, the secret department, the revenue

department, the political department, the foreign and military departments had secretaries of its own. The crown era saw more secretaries added when new departments were created — finance, public works, education, and commerce.

The secretariat, whether at the center or in the provinces, has shown a great capacity for growth in numbers. On account of the importance and number of the duties that have devolved on the government of the crown era this growth is not difficult to explain. The government was landlord and an improving landlord. In addition to the demands of paternalism and etatism, there was the arduous character of the climate, the ignorance of the vernaculars exhibited by the British officials, and the cheapness of available clerical labor, which further served to increase the numerical strength of the Indian secretariat. The tendency to centralization was another contributory cause. This centralization, originating in the commercial days of the company when every superior government from the board of directors in England downward wanted every transaction to be reported for final disposal, continually brought details of business under the purview of the secretariat. Naturally, this original tendency extended its operations under the bureaucracy thus put by it on the seats of authority.

The cost of the secretariat went on increasing between 1858 and 1900. The complete outlay of the secretariat in India, provincial and central, rose from Rs 392,000 in 1875–1876 to Rs 517,000 in 1895–1896. Since then it has increased by leaps and bounds. At present the central and provincial secretariats cost nearly ten million rupees.

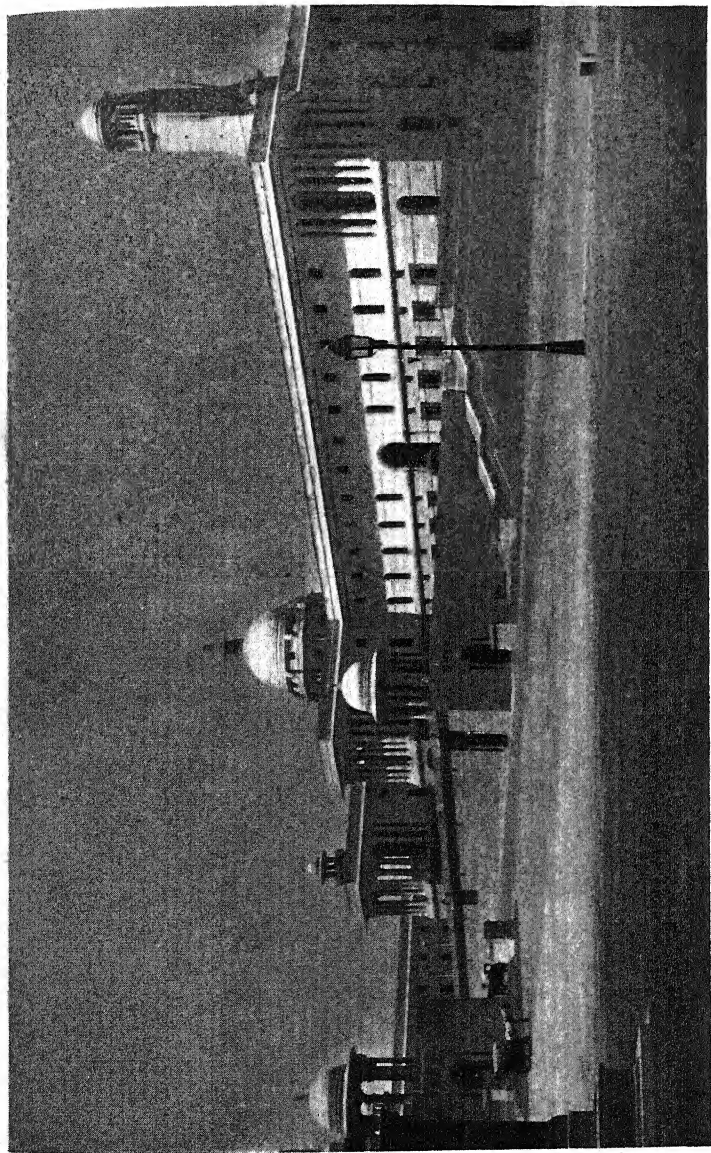
As the visitor to New Delhi approaches the viceroy's house from the king's gateway on the east, the residence of the head of the government of India looms into his view, short and stubby, crushed between the tall and massive weights of the twin buildings of the secretariat, while the house of the legislatures is thrust aside as if it were an

appendix. The architect seems to have built more truly than he knew.

Among the major consequences of the growth of the secretariat in number and power is the growth of a new feature of modern Indian government, departmental centralization. Most departments of government, whether at the center or in the provinces, are now centralized and ruled by heads and secretaries from headquarters. This centralization has slowly undermined the initiative, if not the authority, of district officials. The collector of the district is no longer the one representative of government in the districts. Each of the departments, police, agriculture, forests, education, and co-operation, has its own district head, each writing and issuing orders to his subordinates with little or no reference to the collector, who once was the sole and supreme ruler of the entire district. What Sir Bartle Frere, one of the most outstanding provincial governors of modern India, said, in 1858, has become increasingly true in recent years, namely, that nowhere in India is it now possible to find any functionary of a grade higher than a village headman who can say that he himself possesses undivided authority within the territorial bounds of his charge, and that he is responsible to only one supreme representative of government.

Among the other vices of the Indian secretariat that may be mentioned here, some are not peculiar to it. Its *penchant* toward centralization, its love of forms and returns and routine, its dependence on writing, its chadband addiction to facts and figures, its doctrinaire treatment of questions as if they affected things and not persons — all these have been noted by official observers themselves. Its passion for uniformity has bred the saying that the ideal of the secretariat is: "everybody, everywhere, doing the same kind of thing at the same time in the same way."

Departmental zeal has been described as zeal for the



EWING-GALLOWAY

The Secretariat building, New Delhi.



department — its rules, its precedents, its routine — so strong as to exclude sympathy or even toleration for anything that does not fit in with its ideal. The daily round of files bound by the now familiar red tape, the regular procession of teakwood boxes from room to room, the voluminous noting from clerk upward via the superintendent, the under-secretary, the secretary, the member or minister of provincial or central council — this whole process, partaking of the nature of some religious ritual, has been noticed and satirized by unconventional viceroys as well as by the watchdogs of the press.

A critical view of the vices of the Indian secretariat cannot, however, veil its real services to the state in India. For one thing it has given India that instrument of government which it had long been without, but with which the central government can now exert and realize its authority. If the struggle waged in the early part of the nineteenth century by the supreme government of India at Calcutta to assert its legal supremacy over the provincial governments guaranteed to it by act of parliament was successful, it was due to the organization of a strong and efficient secretariat. It was this secretariat that procured the information of facts, figures, and circumstances from the provincial or district administrations that could enable the central or the provincial government to decide on the issues presented to the superior government. It was the secretariat that formulated the orders and decisions of the central or provincial governments and issued them in a form that could convey force and meaning to provincial governments or district officers.

With such expensive machinery as the governor general, in council, or the governors, in council, it was necessary to provide the best assistance and the best agency possible so that as much good work as possible might be disposed of by either government. Able governors general, able gov-

ernors, and able members of central or provincial executive councils would lose their usefulness if the secretariat were undermanned or inefficient. Zeal and discretion in the districts are sure to cool off if references remain unanswered and correspondence neglected by the central or provincial governments at headquarters. The secretariat and departmentalization have strengthened government by forms and procedure. This system has replaced the old one of government by persons and by discretion which did well in the early days of British rule. The secretariat has substituted institutional rule for personal rule.

The philosophic historian cannot help looking upon the passing of personal rule as one of the minor tragedies of modern administration in India. Progress, no doubt, registered by the substitution of the rule of law for the rule of men. But men are governed by men. While forms and rule should govern the working of an impersonal secretariat at the center, human initiative and direction at the circumference should not be rudely fettered by forms and precedents. The easy accessibility of the district official to the people of the country was the sheet anchor of British Indian administration in the days of its making. It built up the fame of a Malcolm, a Munro, an Edwardes, an Elphinstone, a Henry Lawrence, and a John Lawrence.

Seated in the village chabootra, or in his durbar room at headquarters, or in the durbar tent in camp, we find him "surrounded by the most respectable of the inhabitants, readily communicating the knowledge they possess, while those who might be inclined to conceal the truth feel thwarted under the eyes of all whom they are accustomed to respect and whose good or bad opinion is a matter of considerable importance to them. They know that should a misstatement be made it would be immediately checked and pointed out by some of the durbaris." So the district collector of the old school kept his hand on the pulse of



his district and on the directing wheel of the machine of district administration.

It was on the *Char Darwazah Kulah* (the four doors open) system that the administration of India was carried on in the old days. That was how Malcolm, surrounded by his nabobs, rajahs, Bhil patels, and ryots, his house a thoroughfare from morning to evening, no munshis, dewans, dubashs, or even chobdars coming between him and his people, administered the affairs of his jurisdiction in central India. "Do you know why the Almighty has given me two ears?" said Malcolm to a Bhil who had rushed into his tent crying for justice. "It is because I might hear your story with one and the other party's with the other." But that personal rule has been killed by the rule of forms. Reports and returns and precedents and routine and red tape and files and the records so appropriate to a secretariat, have invaded and overwhelmed the district officials. Impersonal rule at the secretariat and personal rule in the districts have been proved by experience to be the ideal of Indian administration.

The assembling and working of the administrative machinery under a unifying political system was the great service rendered by British rule to India. It has also, as we have seen, rendered memorable services to the promotion of the material prosperity, the civilization, and the culture of the people. If its services in these directions have been limited, it was because the government was dependent on itself and the needs of administration for the formulation of policy or program.

Fortunately for India the administration in the crown era was not left to itself. One of the major consequences of British rule was that it was brought into long and intimate contact with Europe for over a century and a half. Winds of doctrine from the West blew long and hard over India. Habits, customs, and usages of the West had time to pene-

trate and sink deep through the surface into the life of India. The *tempo* of this spread of European influence was increased during the past century by the use of the steamship, the telegraph, and now by wireless communication. The medieval isolation of India has come to be a thing of the past. India was brought definitely and decisively, not spasmodically and temporarily, as in former times, into the main stream of world history.

#### 10. CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Among the influences of Europe that have played upon the modern history of India the greatest has been that of Christianity. Its influence is not of recent origin. Christianity in India is traceable to the Apostolic Age. Christian tradition in India links the coming of Christianity to St. Thomas the Apostle. This tradition has not been overthrown by historical criticism.

Like most religious reform movements in India it started its career in the South. Malabar on the southwest coast was the starting point of the career of Christianity in India. It was there that the important community of Indian Christians, known as Syrian Christians, kept the lamp of Christianity burning from the first to the twentieth century. Cut off from the current of historical Christianity by geographical and historical circumstances, it has yet kept the truth, the whole of it in the case of the Syrian Christians who preserved communion with Rome, or parts of it in the case of the Jacobites and the Nestorians. The coming of the Portuguese brought the Catholic Syrians into more closely established contact with Rome.

The beginning of this modern relationship of the Syrian Catholics to the historical center and head of Christianity, which is Rome, dates from the Synod of Diamper, in 1599. The Portuguese brought Latin Christianity to India. First Franciscan friars showed the way. The preaching of St.

Francis Xavier, the most illustrious of the Jesuit missionaries, brought whole communities on the west and east coasts into the fold of Christianity. Quite properly the religion first preached by fishermen found ready acceptance among the fishing communities of the east and west coasts of India. And the fishery coast gets honorable mention in the annals of modern Christianity.

The Christianization of Goa under the Portuguese was thorough, and the flourishing Catholic communities of Goa, Mangalore, Cochin, Calicut date their Christianity from Portuguese days. The Jesuits, under the leadership of men like Robert de Nobili who was responsible for the famous controversy about Malabar rites, settled by Rome in the direction of sanity and prudence, also enlisted the study of Sanskrit and Indian learning in the cause of Christian conversion. Beschi composed an epic, the *Tembavani*, on the theme of Christ's Incarnation, recognized by the Tamils as one of the classics of Tamil. Literature made a moderately successful bid at the conversion of members of the higher castes of Hinduism.

After an eclipse in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were expelled in 1759, Catholic Christianity resumed its career in India with the beginning of the nineteenth century. The toleration and freedom of British rule readily allowed the coming of new orders of missionaries — the Missions Etrangères of Paris, the Foreign Missionary Society of Milan, the Carmelites, the Capuchins, and in later times the Missionaries of St. Francis de Sales, the Premonstratensians, and the Salesians. India received its Catholic hierarchy in 1885, and with its 10 archbishops, its 45 bishops of whom 11 are Indians, and its Catholic population of four million the Catholic Church has become established in India as part of the religious life of the country.

In the gap left by the eclipse of the Jesuit missions came

Protestant missionaries. They owe no thanks to the religious policy of the East India Company, which banned their coming at first and long treated them with suspicion and distrust, lest the result of their preaching might interfere with the even tenor of its trade and commerce. William Carey, the pioneer among Protestant missionaries, smuggled himself into India as an indigo planter and began his mission under the protection of the Danish flag at Serampore, on the river Hooghly, near Calcutta. Although early in the nineteenth century, before the issue of the Charter of 1813, the directors of the company sent out a dispatch, in which they made their officers understand that they were far from averse to the introduction of Christianity in India, and directed that they should abstain from all unnecessary interference with the proceedings of Christian missionaries, they adopted permanently the policy of neutrality and enforced on their officers abstention from all acts which might be interpreted as favoring Christianity.

But Protestant missionaries could not be kept back by the policy of the company or the frowns of individual officials. The Lutherans were the first of the Protestant missionary bodies to evangelize in Southern India. Schwartz, the father of the Protestant churches in Tanjore, Tinnevely, and Trichinopoly, and his successors built up many Lutheran congregations in southern India. The German Leipzig Missionary Society, the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the London Missionary Society, the American Congregationalists, the Wesleyans, the English Baptists, the Church of Scotland, the Anglican Church Missionary Society, the Basel Missionary Society, and other church missionary societies have in varying degrees and with varying success sought to bring their divergent interpretations of Christianity to the people of India. Owing to the efforts of the Protestant missionaries the Protestant Christians of India now number about four million. Together

with the Christians in the Indian states especially of Cochin and Travancore and in Goa, the Christian population of India may be put down as ten million.

The work of Christianity in India is not to be measured only by the number of its adherents, the bulk of whom have been added to its field during the 150 years of the *Pax Britannica*. It meant at all events substituting of a religion of love for a religion of fear, a person to follow for a philosophy to profess, a life of reasoned morality for a routine of institutional practice. On the part of Catholicism it meant moreover a priesthood called to its office by vocation and looking after the general welfare of its people from the cradle to the grave, in place of a priesthood called to its office by birth and restricted to the service of the rites of the temple. It brought into the broad glades of sunlight peoples that had been kept down in the dark and dismal purlieus of Hindu society. To give them a new hope and a new vision, open to them a new way of life — a life in which the ideas of equality, liberty, and fraternity could be practiced — was to cause a revolutionary change in the lives of a respectable proportion of the population of India. The opportunities for social service, for the service of the poor and the lonely previously left to their own devices in the Hindu social system but now opened by their conversion to the new religion, were many and fruitful.

The bulk of the converts to Christianity during this period were from the submerged classes of the Hindu social system. Formerly they were designated as Pariahs or Panchamas, but now are known as "depressed classes" or "scheduled classes" by governmental fiat, or as Adi-Dravidas by their own self-conscious appeals to respectable historical origins, or finally, as Harijans (servants of Hari) by an expiatory Hindu conscience. However we view them, their conversion to the new religion gave them a dignity, a self-respect, and an opportunity for self-development they had

never possessed before under the old dispensation. Christianity is a charter of freedom to these people.

Besides these outcastes of Hindu society, there were those other people whom geographical and historical circumstances had for centuries kept out of the highroad of civilization and culture but who were to find a way to progress and history through the portals of Christianity. These were the backward peoples of India, the aboriginal tribes which Aryan advance in India had driven into the jungle fastnesses and the highlands. The conversion of those peoples is a romantic episode in the history of Christianity. In Chota Nagpur, in the province of Bihar, a mass movement toward Christianity began to take place among the Oraons and Mundas about 1885, when Father Lievens, a Belgian Jesuit, began his apostolic work, and today nearly 350,000 in these tribes are Christians. Similar movements have happened among the Santals of Bengal, the Garos and Khasis of Assam, among the Bhils of central India, and among the Gonds of the central provinces. The German, Lutheran, and Anglican missions have also gained ground among the tribal populations, whose number may be laid down at about half a million. As the total tribal population of India is about four million, this is a high proportion.

The conversion of these tribal peoples to Christianity meant that from tribalism they were introduced into the life of civilization and culture. Agriculture has become their economy, their domestic and social life has become stable, their language and literature have been placed on the road to historical development, they have learned the arts and crafts of civilization. Jungle women of a generation ago have learned to do lacework which has found a market in shops of France and Belgium. And boys of parents that 50 years ago roamed in the jungles are graduates of universities, lawyers, and magistrates. Judged by numbers, Christianity may not be considered to have made much headway

in India. But to have made even the little breach it has effected against the triple barrage of the polytheism of the many, the monism of the few, and the caste system of all is no mean achievement.

The influence of Christianity in modern India is not exhausted on the frontiers of the Christian population. It has gone beyond and permeated the life and thought of the major peoples of India. The theistic movement in India, if it does not derive its origin from the study of Christian thought, continues to draw strength from it. Ram Mohan Roy, who started the modern theistic movement in India, took his inspiration from the Bible. The small Brahmo Samaj group, however, which he founded in 1828, split later into two sects and has foundered on the rock of an angry nationalism.

The movement for a progression from Hindu philosophy to Christian thought, begun by the Jesuit, Robert de Nobili, in the eighteenth century, has in recent times been distinguished by the work of the Jesuit editors of the *Light of the East*, and has been gathered into more permanent form in Father Johannes' *Au Christ par le Vedanta*. The *Bhakti* cult, which at least has introduced the warmth of devotion to a personal God into latter-day Hinduism, arose in the South where the influence of Christianity has been the strongest.

## 11. SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT

The social reform movement in modern India owes its origin to the influence of Christian ideas of equality and freedom and has encountered the modern nationalist opposition which seeks to prove that conversion to Christianity is not necessary for social progress. Nevertheless, slowly but definitely, many false ideas and practices of Hindu social orthodoxy are disappearing before the spread of Christianity, either by its positive action or by its hostile reaction

against them. It was William Carey's missionary report that induced Wellesley to make the dedication of children to the sacred waters at Saugor Point and the exposure of the aged on the banks of the Ganges penal offenses. Human sacrifice for religious cause had been suppressed before 1858. The principle of religious freedom which insists that conversion of people to another religion than that of their birth should not deprive them of their original civil rights had already been placed on the Indian statute book in the form of the Caste Disabilities Act of 1850 in Lord Dalhousie's time. Criticism of Hindu social or religious usage has become more common than in 1860 when a fierce attack was launched in an organ of Hindu social reform on "the shamelessness, immodesty, raciality, and indecency" of the Hindu priests in certain Vaishnavite temples.

The marriage of girls at an early age has lain heavily on the Hindu conscience ever since 1882, when the enthusiasm of a petition to introduce remedial measures was cooled off by the advice of a cautious government to wait for a more general demand. In 1892, a legislative proposal known as the Age of Consent Bill, which made consummation of marriage criminal before the girl reached the age of 12, was carried by government against orthodox opposition. In 1925, the age of consent was raised to 13 for married girls and 14 for unmarried girls. In 1928, a private Hindu member's bill was passed also, in the teeth of orthodox opposition, providing for fines and penalties against anyone who helps in the marriage of girls under 14 and of boys under 18 years. An Act of 1856, a feather in the cap of Lord Dalhousie, had legalized the marriage of Hindu widows.

The removal of the shackles placed by Hindu society on the depressed classes, on the strength of the Hindu doctrine of Karma, is also traceable to the influence of Christianity. And this again by way of action as well as of reaction. The opening of certain Hindu temples to these classes, in



Madura and Travancore, is in imitation of the Christian practice. It is also intended thereby to stem the tide of conversion to Christianity.

Provincial representative governments, after the Government of India Act of 1919, have tried in more than one province to make public schools, public wells, public roads, and rest houses available to the members of this class with varying results. The Indian penal code, formulated and passed by Christian legislators, which has made the law of crimes and punishments the same for all, in contrast to Manu who treated a Brahmin murderer differently from a Sudra murderer, is now safe in the hands of Hindu public opinion. In imitation of Christian social work and service in the form of hospitals, homes for the aged and lepers, Hindu organizations like the Seva Sadan Society, started in Bombay, in 1908, and now active in Poona and Madras, give Hindu women an opportunity to maintain homes for the homeless, a home education class, and workrooms for the teaching of needlework, sewing, and nursing to Hindu orphans and child widows. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, works for the improvement of the lot of the depressed classes. To have provoked the Hindu social conscience to universal social service, not thought of for centuries, is not the least of the services of Christianity to India.

## 12. THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER

Aside from Christianity, the course of British politics in India has brought it into contact with the rest of the world. The wars that the British have had to wage in India were caused by events outside of India. The Seven Years' War between France and England and the Napoleonic wars in Europe have been responsible for the wars with country powers like Hyderabad under the Nizams and Mysore under Hyder Ali, Tippoo Sultan, and the Mahrattas. England's supreme

sea power accounted for its successes in the land wars in India. But the sea ceased to play an important part in the affairs of India when the British conquest of the Sikhs and the Punjab in the first quarter of the nineteenth century brought British rule face to face with a formidable land frontier.

British foreign policy in India, which had been stable as long as the sea was the only frontier, began to take on a particular twist when the course of British expansion was stayed by the mountain frontiers that separate India from the countries to the west. This northwest frontier has greatly influenced the course of Indian history and government throughout the era of the crown. The other land frontier, that to the northeast which came into its own and directed the attention of the whole world upon it during the recent war, did not count then since the people on the other side of this frontier were peaceful or powerless. The frontier, therefore, that counts in British Indian history is the northwest frontier. It is this that is known as "the Frontier" in Indian political language, and it played this large and distinguished part not merely because it formed the dividing line between India and the countries to the west of India.

Quite by itself it was a country peopled by fierce, wild, lawless, fanatically Moslem tribes owing allegiance to no state and exploiting the inevitable differences that arose between India and its neighbors. The whole problem of the frontier thus arose from the measures that had to be taken by the British government in India to keep the peace of this no man's land. For if peace did not prevail there, the peace of India as well as the peaceful relations of India with its neighbors, would be imperiled. Afghanistan and Russia have on several occasions tried to exploit the situation, and indeed the foreign policy of India was largely determined by what happened on the frontier. The forward

policy, that is the frontier policy which seeks to extend British influence and administration into the tribal area, has had repercussions in Afghanistan and beyond.

On account of the dangers latent in the peculiar features of the land: a welter of mountains and of peoples, a collection of warlike tribes to whom fighting seems natural and a biological necessity, it has always been the policy of the British government in India to prevent any other European power from obtaining a foothold within the Asiatic states situated on the border. From the beginning until the determined assertion of independence a few years ago by the rulers of Afghanistan, the establishment of British influence as the predominant influence at the court of the Amirs of Kabul had been the leading motive of the wars, annexations, and alliances of the British in this part of the world. The advance of Russia in central Asia in 1860-1900 caused a flutter more than once in the offices of the Foreign Department at Calcutta or Simla. The establishment of friendly relations with the frontier states of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Yarkhand, and Nepal has always been one of the cardinal points of their policy. Peace on the frontier is necessary for peace with Afghanistan and Russia.

That explains the attention and the energy spent on the frontier by the government of India. The constitution of the government of the frontier province has always been an anxious concern. Placed at first under the provincial government of the Punjab, it was later, in 1901, on the initiative and under the impulse of Lord Curzon, transferred directly to the central government of India. Although still later it came to be endowed with powers of local self-government, it still preserves peculiar features required by the needs of a frontier province. There is still a portion of the frontier called the tribal area in which the powers of the central government continue to be effective. In this area the Frontier Crimes Regulation, the system of subsidies paid

to the tribes to keep them quiet, the Khassadar system of police furnished by the tribes, the Jirgah government by council of tribal elders still obtain.

The frontier, too, has produced changes in the working of the government of India. It has made the governor general supreme in matters of frontier policy and administration — his councilors being reduced from the position of colleagues to that of mere advisers. The frontier has increased the power and prestige of the foreign department of the government of India. It has increased the strength of the Indian army. It has changed the composition of the army restricting recruitment to the Punjab and the frontier till the recent war knocked this senseless policy out of the heads of army headquarters. It has led to what has been called the Punjabization of the government of India, the disproportionate recruitment of officials from the Punjab and the frontier to the central offices of the government of India.

The frontier has however brought about beneficial political results. It has helped to bring India together. The defense of the frontier has brought the Indian states and British India together. These states that had escaped absorption into British India were no longer left in isolation. The possibility of war with Russia, in 1879, made it necessary for the government of India "to rouse the enthusiasm and secure the loyalty of all the great feudatories." Troops of the Patiala state served in the Afghan campaign of 1879. In 1887, when rumors of a Russian menace spread over India, the Nizam of Hyderabad wrote a letter to the viceroy protesting that no inhabitant of India could be indifferent to the persistent advance of another great military power, that the frontiers of India should be put in a proper state of defense, that the princes of India were as alive as the peoples of British India to the importance of safeguarding the frontier. The Nizam offered a contribution of twenty lakhs annually toward the expenses of frontier defense and war.

He then set an example which has become a habit with the princes of India, that of coming to the help of the government during every great international crisis culminating in war, as at the time of the World Wars of 1914-1918 and of 1939-1945. The frontier has thrown India on itself.

Till British rule reached the northwest frontier it could not present India with a definite sense of political unity. The policy of finding a frontier for India in Afghanistan, if it had succeeded, would have postponed *sine die* the consolidation of the sense of Indian duty. India would have become part of a British Asiatic empire stretching from Persia to the Malay Peninsula. By the abandoning of this forward policy and the identification of the political with the natural frontier, India has been made conscious of and attached to its political unity. It has given definition to the land of India and therefore to Indian patriotism.

The frontier has given form, and therefore force to Indian nationalism. It has also correlated that nationalism to the internationalism of world affairs. The land and sea frontiers of India under British rule have made India realize that it is an integral part of the world. The part it has been forced to play in two world wars has brought it full and square into the comity of nations. It has been torn from that ancient isolation which was for so long the characteristic incident of its history.

### 13. INDIANIZATION

Although its connection with the rest of the world has in recent times increased the rate of its progress toward another new idea, yet it was — as ever, with British rule — the existence of Indian administrative needs that first provoked it. The company began to associate native Indians with the administration, because it was impossible to import all the personnel required from England. Moreover, that personnel could not or would not acquire the knowledge

of the vernacular languages so necessary for administrative work. Statesmen like Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone urged the increased employment of natives in the administrative services of the company. Although the rate of Indianization of the services was considerably slowed down, especially in the army by the suspicion and distrust generated by the mutiny of 1857, the progressive association of Indians with the administration has gone on apace.

Institutions of self-government also were introduced in India to ease the administrative process. In Madras, as early as 1687, the municipal system, with a Mayor and twelve aldermen, including Portuguese and Indians, was established to reconcile the people of the settlement to a system of local taxation. Hence, even when the history of modern, local self-government in India started, it was the needs of administration that were the motive cause. Local funds preceded local boards. The establishment of local self-government in 1882, by Lord Ripon, the only Catholic viceroy of India, was due to the fact that "the task of administration had yearly become more onerous as the country progressed in civilization and material prosperity, and an ever-increasing burden was laid upon the shoulders of the local officers." Government was therefore of the opinion that the only reasonable plan open to it was to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as might be, the management of their own affairs, and to develop or create if need be a capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not for imperial reasons to be retained in the hands of the representatives of government.

When representative legislative councils were first established this again was the motive. It was to improve the process and the results of lawmaking that, in 1861, the first Indian legislative council was established. According to the ministerial spokesman in the House of Commons, "its function was to be purely legislative, it had no jurisdiction in the

nature of a grand inquest of the nation, it was not to be an 'Anglo Indian House of Commons' for redress of grievances and refusal of supplies." The legislative councils of 1892, which became more numerous and more representative and elective, were recommended by Mr. Curzon, as he then was, on the ground that they were desirable in the first place in the interests of the government which was, at that moment, without the means of making known its policy, of making certain amendments, of silencing calumny. They were also, he added, desirable in the interests of the public who, in the absence of correct official information, are apt to be misled and entertain erroneous ideas, but "who could not become acquainted with the real facts." Even the councils set up by the late Lord Morley toward the end of the past century, more representative and more elective, were yet, according to the emphatic assurance of their author, not to be miniature parliaments.

If the matter had been left to the administration probably the leisuredly pace at which representative institutions had developed in the nineteenth century would have been maintained. But a new force had been called into being at about the same time as the first institutions of popular self-government were created. The people began to take an interest of their own in the government. Owing to the rapid extension of English education, a growing class of people imbued with European ideas of equality, liberty, and nationalism had come into being.

Whatever is to be said of these movements, an institutional outlet of its own was found for India in 1885, by way of the Indian National Congress, curiously enough founded on the initiative of a friendly Englishman bearing the familiar name of Hume. In its annual sessions, held successively in the chief towns of India and attended by delegates from all over the country, it called upon the government to increase the number of Indians in the civil services,

demanding recruitment of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army, and insisted on the reduction of the cost of government and on the redress of grievances. It followed the even tenor of constitutional agitation till 1921 when it came under the influence of Mohanlal Karamchand Gandhi.

This ascetic, turned politician, had tried the device of passive resistance against the government of South Africa for the removal of laws and administrative ordinances that were depriving his countrymen, settled in the territories of the Union, of the rights of citizenship. Dissatisfied with the lack of response of the government of India to constitutional agitation, unwilling to resort to violence both because in his view it was immoral and because it was impossible and futile in the circumstances of India, he advocated and got the Indian National Congress to accept the use of "civil disobedience" on a large scale. Not with a view to redressing particular grievances, as in South Africa, but to express general dissatisfaction with the government, did this device come to be employed.

The austerity of Gandhi's life made an appeal to the Indian masses that have always been ready to follow the leadership of the saint and the ascetic. His capacity for suffering, his self-immolation, his sacrifice of personal freedom had provoked sympathetic feelings in a people who have long known and loved suffering and who have not been unused to loss of freedom. His lack of a sense of the state, noticed by Jacques Maritain, and revealed in Gandhi's frequent resort to "civil disobedience," is the policy of a people to whom the state has long been the shadow of a shadow. His call to pay no taxes has been popular to a population living on the margin of subsistence. His fasting unto death to get his way in politics was in keeping with the traditional Hindu device of a creditor *sitting dharna* at his debtor's door. His philosophy of clothes found ready acceptance



among a barely dressed people. His "back to the village" slogan, in fine, has found ready acceptance among a people nine tenths of whom live in villages. His simple political philosophy which requires no laborious study of practical problems, such as used to characterize the deliberations of the Indian National Congress in the days of Dadabhoi Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Phirozha Mehta, and Gopala Krishna Gokhale, brought politics to the doors of the masses.

Political agitation has thus been brought from the town hall and public meeting to the streets. While making the masses politically minded, Gandhism has raised sentiment above reason, emotion above argument, and substituted dictatorship for discussion. All this it justified on the ground that there was a war on with the British. But Gandhi has rendered notable political service to his people. He cured them of the fear of the alien ruler — although in so doing he has loosened the roots of political obedience. He has preached peace and the methods of peace as the instrument of government, although his non-violence took the form of moral violence and used by and among the masses often ended in physical violence. He has brought a sense of reality into Indian politics, putting first things first. He has called for plain living and high thinking though his fads of prohibition and Khadi spell confusion to Indian finance and industry. He has brought social reform into prominence and has stimulated the discouragement of "untouchability" and has caused the opening of Hindu temples to the *Chandalas* of the Hindu caste system. He has demanded character of politicians and has tried his best to exclude insincerity, double-dealing, hypocrisy from Indian politics. He has introduced moral standards into political judgment and the influence of religion, albeit of Hinduism, into politics. The judgment of history will be that Gandhi has awakened his

people from the political sleep of centuries but has not "dedicated for them the new and living way" that his people and his country need.

The new style of Congress politics and agitation has roused the consciousness of other communities. The Hindu, being a religious and therefore permanent majority, the Moslems feared that in the Indian National Congress, with such radical revolutionary aspiration and with the device of majority rule, they would have no chance of survival. They consequently formed a political organization of their own. The recent experience of majority rule in the years 1937-1939, under the constitution introduced by the Government of India Act of 1935, have stampeded the Moslem League under the leadership of Mohamed Ali Jinnah, more successful as a tactician than as a strategist, into unfurling the flag of secession. The absolutist nationalism of the Congress, as well as the Hindu character of the political philosophy and methods of Gandhism have provoked the Moslems into claiming that they are a separate nation and must have a separate sovereign state of their own in India to give effect to their political aspirations. The theory of self-determination used by the Congress against the British is now used by the Moslem League against the Congress.

There are however brighter hues on the political horizon. The spirit of freedom is stilling the waters of Indian public life. Freedom of thought, expression, and association are the common-law freedoms of British India. A free press, subject to drastic restrictions in times of disturbances, is the shield of those freedoms. The rule of law is maintained by the independence of the judiciary. Although the executive and the judiciary are not altogether separate in the lower circles of the administrative system, the acts of the executive are in the main subject to scrutiny in courts of law. The rights and liberties of the subject have been safeguarded by the high courts of India whose judges are appointed for a

fixed period till superannuation and are irremovable by the executive in India.

The rights of the individual have been fortified by legislative or administrative acts. Individualism has made large breaches in the caste-iron society and dharma-bound life of the Hindu. Rights of property have been created by the different land revenue systems. The Ryotwari system has dissolved the ancient ties and usages which existed in the old republics of the Indian villages. The Hindu Joint Family as had many of its joints loosened by the rights of the individual members of the family.

Industrialism, making India the fifth greatest industrial country in the world — with its 10,000 factories employing 50,000 workers, with a total authorized capital of about 80 crores of rupees or 70 million pounds sterling, has driven a wedge into the agricultural economy of India. But it has also introduced into India the *chawls* of Bombay, those rabbit-warrens into which the industrial laborer is packed to the suffocation of his material and moral health, and the industrial slums which disfigure the other great cities of industry: Calcutta, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad.

In spite of all this industrialization India continues to be a predominantly agricultural country. About 90 per cent of the population live in villages. And these villages continue to be backward in civilization if not in culture. Western civilization has hardly effected an entrance there. Of the 300 million of India only those that live in towns, about 50 million, are open to the influences of western civilization. Of these only about 5 million may be said to live in decent houses and according to the minimum standards of civilized living. In fact only a smaller number, say about one million, could be said to reside in houses well-furnished and well-appointed, and to be living according to the ideas of creature comfort prevalent in the civilized world.

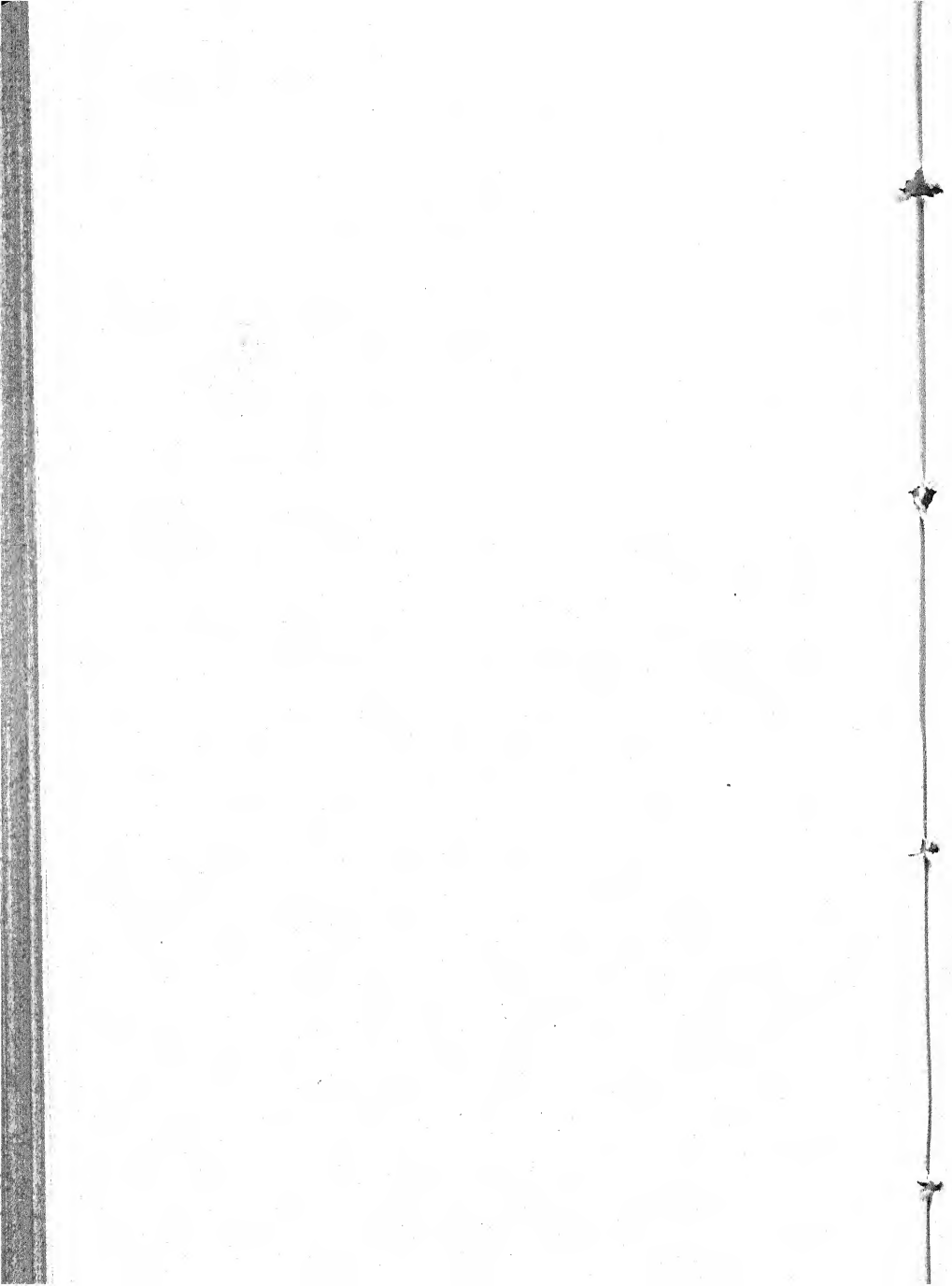
## 14. INDIA TODAY

And so India stands today, made and marred by her history. Called to unity by the conformation of its land, its people have sought to thwart it. That the unity achieved under British rule is largely administrative is proved by the incomplete unification of the people. Moslems are not the only ones to challenge this unity. Caste divides the Hindus among themselves. And although a common hostility to the alien ruler may bring them together, the spirit of division which is embodied and secure in caste is an ever present cause of disunion. The Indian states are on different political levels as among themselves and as related to the provinces of British India. The English language which might have been the unifying cultural influence among, at least, the educated classes is being dethroned from its seat of pre-eminence.

The influences that play about Indian life are opposite and contradictory. The new spirit of freedom clashes with the old spirit of restraint as embodied in caste and Hindu dharma and Moslem law and custom. The progress of a free and industrial society is countered by the reaction of Hindu and Moslem tradition. The theism of Islam and Christianity is repudiated by the monism of the Hindus. India is a land of contradictions. Polytheism and monism, naturism and theism, philosophy and superstition, the dead hand of custom and progress, tribalism and nationalism, caste and freedom and equality — all these clamor for victory in the soul of India. A way out of this confusion cannot be forced by the policy of splitting up India into different zones of Hindu and Moslem dominion. The populations are too mixed up for this policy of escapism to be considered as practical. India is too united and too disparate for any such slapdash method of solving her problems. But the desire of the erstwhile rulers to be quit

of a sordid burden and of the Hindus and Moslems to obtain power somewhere, somehow, have forced India into this Avernian descent. Must she then continue in this confusion of division which reminds one of the historian Bryce's terrible indictment of one of the constitutions of the Holy Roman Empire "they created anarchy and called it a constitution"? Must India continue to be what her history has made her — the playground of opposite forces and influences? Some of them are world forces like those of unity, freedom, equality, progress, the one universal religion. Will they conquer the native forces of caste, the dead hand, national or tribal religion?

The present division is an indication that the native forces have won the day. But the Pyrrhic victor never enjoys long the fruits of his victory. Who knows but that out of the lessons of division the people of India may learn to realize the dire need of unity if the fruits of freedom and independence are to be long enjoyed? And the world ideas of unity, progress, freedom may yet conquer the old ideas of division, restraint, and fixity. But India will achieve this end only if she throws out her hands and grasps the things that are seen and real, while seeking, as best she can, the things that are eternal.



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